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THE TEACHING OF SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES.

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AA SHORT HISTORY OF THE TEACHING OF SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES WAS REPORTED. THE ACCOUNT BEGAN WITH EVENTS FOLLOWING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT. THE SURVEY INCLUDED A DISCUSSION OF (1) SPANISH TEACHERS, (2) SPANISH READERS, (3) LATIN AMERICA, (4) ASSOCIATIONS, AND (5) STUDENTS AND TEACHERS. THIS STUDY ENDEAVORS TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CONCERNING SOME DETAILS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY IN OTHER HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS. REPORTS IN THIS SERIES ARE ED 003 940 THROUGH ED 003 960. (RS)

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STURGIS E. LEAVITT

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By Sturgis E. Leavitt

PREFACE

In partial fulfillment of a contract with the U. S. Office of Education under the National Defense Education Act, the Modern Language Association commissioned Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt of the University of North Carolina to write a short history of the teaching of Spanish in the United States. A corresponding history of the teaching of German in this country has been written by Professor Edwin H. Zeydel of the University of Cincinnati, and a history of the teaching of French will be written by Professor George B. Watts of Davidson College.

We were fortunate in securing the services of Professor Leavitt, for he is one of the most distinguished scholars and leaders in our profession, a member of the MLA Executive Council (1956-59), President of the South Atlantic MLA (1935-37), President of the AATSP (1945), and corresponding member of the Hispanic Society of America. As a delegate and counselor on innumerable state occasions, as a bibliographer and editor, as a writer and teacher, he is one of the most respected and most beloved Hispanists of this century. We are grateful to him for the present history and we are sure that it will be a document of prime importance for future historians in this field.

Donald D. Walsh

THIS is not the first historical account of the teaching of Spanish in the United States. The field has been surveyed before, notably by Henry Grattan Doyle, Madaline W. Nichols, and J. R. Spell.[1] However, some time has elapsed since their reports were written, and a number of significant events have occurred that deserve to be recorded. And it is now possible to throw additional light upon some of the details previously discussed. Nevertheless, the early reports contain facts not mentioned here and are still valuable and worthy of consultation.

SPANISH TEACHERS

Soon after the American Revolution, the United States had a Venezuelan visitor, described by one of his biographers as "el más universal de los americanos." In the course of his career this remarkable man saw service as Captain in the Spanish army, he participated in the American struggle for independence, he was privileged to wear the uniform of a Russian colonel at the court of Catherine the Great, he was one of the generals in the French army after the outbreak of the French Revolution, his name is on the Arch of Triumph in Paris, he was for a time dictator of Venezuela, and he ended his days in a Spanish dungeon.

This man, Francisco de Miranda, had sailed from Havana in June 1783 and disembarked in New Bern, North Carolina. While there he was invited to a barbecue held in celebration of the preliminary treaty of peace with England. One of the quaint features of this barbecue was a barrel of rum, which the magistrates and people of the lowest extraction drank from the same glass. "It is impossible to conceive of a more democratic assembly," so Miranda tells us in his interesting diary.[2]

Miranda met many important people during his stay in the United States from June 1783 to December 1784, and occasionally he found evidence of an interest in Spanish literature. For example, he was delighted with a South Carolina judge who was passionately devoted to the *Don Quixote*. In Providence, Rhode Island, he talked long hours with a certain Dr. Moyes about the merits of Spanish poetry. And Ezra Stiles, President of Yale and reputed to be "the most learned man in New England," must have discussed Latin America with him, for Styles wrote in his Diary: "Col. Miranda has a perfect Acquaintance with the policy and history of all Spanish America."[3]

It is surprising that Miranda did not meet more people who were interested in Spanish. In that early period both private and public libraries were acquiring books in Spanish, and in considerable numbers.[4] And many prominent men were learning, or had learned, to read these books, frequently, it seems, without the aid of a teacher. Benjamin Franklin, for example, had begun to study foreign languages as early as 1732, and he says he read French and Italian with ease. "I afterwards," he writes in his autobiography, "with a little painstaking acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also."[5]

As early as 1775 John Paul Jones had written to the Naval Committee of Congress: "An officer of the navy should not only be able to express himself clearly and with force in his own language both with tongue and pen, but he should also be versed in French and Spanish." Thomas Jefferson wrote an epistolary essay on the pronunciation of Greek, composing it partly in Spanish; "for he had taken great pains with this, feeling that Spanish was important for Americans." He asked his daughter Martha: "Had she read her *Don Quixote* every day? How went her grammar in English and Spanish?"[6]

But is was not necessary for those who wanted to learn Spanish to study by themselves. Robert Francis Seabold, in his "Notes on the Curriculum in Colonial America," mentions a considerable number of men in New York who advertised to teach French and Spanish, beginning as early as 1735.[7] Among them was a certain Garrat Noel, "Perhaps the best-known teacher of Spanish and Portuguese in New York City," whose school was located "at the house of Mrs. Easthams, the lower end of Broad Street, near the long bridge." There were private teachers of Spanish in other cities, also.

But to return to the Venezuelan visitor. Before Miranda left the United States he visited Harvard College, and as usual, he had some comments to make. In this case they were not altogether favorable. "This establishment seems to me," he writes, "better fitted to train clergymen (clérigos) rather than wise and learned citizens . . . and it is certainly extraordinary that there is no chair whatever of living languages, and that theology should be the principal subject taught in the college" (*Diary*, p. 123).

If Miranda could have visited other colleges, he would have found that "living languages" had been taught, or were being taught, in some educa-

[1] Henry Grattan Doyle, "Spanish Studies in the United States," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, II (1925), 163-173. Reprinted, with revisions, in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* LX (1926), 223-234. Madaline W. Nichols, "The History of Spanish and Portuguese Teaching in the United States," in H. Doyle, ed., *A Handbook of the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese, with Special Reference to Latin America* (Boston, 1945). J. R. Spell, "Spanish Teaching in the United States," *Hispania*, X (1927), 141-159. Reprinted in Maxim Newmark, *Twentieth Century Modern Language Teaching. Sources and Readings* (New York, 1948). See also Stanley T. Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature*, New Haven, 1955, 2 vols.

[2] William Spence Robertson, ed., *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, Tour of the United States, 1783-1784*. The Spanish text, ed. with introduction and notes (New York, 1928), p. 6.

[3] *The Literary Diary of Ezra Styles* (New York, 1901), III, 131.

[4] Harry Bernstein, "Las primeras relaciones intelectuales entre New England y el mundo hispánico," *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, V (1939), 1-17. Also Edith F. Helman, "Early Interest in Spanish in New England," *Hispania*, XXIX (1946), 339-351.

[5] Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings* (New York, 1945), p. 707.

[6] Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), p. 92. In a letter to Marbois, sent from Annapolis, 5 Dec. 1783, Jefferson says, "I had left with her a Gil Blas, and Don Quichotte which are among the best books of their class . . .," *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950-55), VI, 374.

[7] *Journal of Educational Research*, XII (1925), 275-281, 370-378.

tional institutions in the United States. In those early days French was taught at a number of places and, to a lesser degree, Spanish. The earliest provision for Spanish seems to have been at the Public Academy in the City of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), where in the "Constitutions" drawn up on 14 November 1749 it is stated that "the trustees shall, with all convenient speed, endeavor to engage persons capable of teaching the French, Spanish, and German languages."[9] It is very likely that this idea originated with Benjamin Franklin.

Evidently speed was not altogther convenient in the City of Brotherly Love, for, so far as can be determined, Spanish was not introduced until many years later. In 1766 a certain Paul Fooks was "chosen Professor of the French and Spanish tongues in the College by the vote of fourteen trustees immediately after the commencement."[9] We know that he continued in this post until 1772, because in that year Mr. Fooks, Professor of the French and Spanish languages, was requested by the Trustees to keep a roll of absentees, Mr. Fooks having frequently complained that the boys who were taking French did not attend so regularly as he could wish (XI, 35-36). There is testimony to the effect that Mr. Fooks taught at the college until 1797.

At William and Mary Spanish was taught, beginning in 1779, by Carlo Bellini, who "had come to America . . . ostensibly to grow grapes, olives, and other Italian fruits."[10] The college catalogue for the session 1829-30 states that one C. de la Pena (Peña) was Professor of Modern Languages and that the subjects taught were French, Spanish, and Italian "with historical and philosophical observations. . . . The elements of philology applied to these languages are likewise taught." Perhaps Spanish was taught at Dickinson College in 1780 by Claudius Berard, M.A., whose title, at least, was "Professor of French, Spanish, Italian and German."

The teaching of Spanish in a really serious way began at the very institution that Miranda had criticized. In 1815 Abiel Smith of the class of 1764, who had been "successful in the pursuit of wealth," as Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard, put it, left $20,000 "in the three percent stock of the United States as a fund, the interest or income thereof to be appropriated to the maintenance and support of a teacher, or Professor of the French and Spanish Languages at said University, either singly or in company with any other fund which may be given or appropriated to the same purpose."[11] To carry out the provisions of this bequest, in July of the next year, the Corporation of Harvard University offered the professorship to George Ticknor, destined to become the most distinguished professor of Spanish in the United States.

Ticknor was abroad at the time the offer was made, and President Kirkland decided not to wait for his acceptance, but to make a modest beginning to the teaching of Romance languages. "As subsidiary to [the] professorship the Corporation determined on the appointment of a teacher to initiate the students in the elements of the French and Spanish languages" (Quincy, II, 324). Living in Boston at the time and giving private lessons in French and Spanish was a man by the name of Francis Sales. Sales was born in the south of France in a little town near Perpignan. He had come to Boston in 1793,[12] and interestingly enough, one of his private pupils had been George Ticknor. Here is what Ticknor says of him: "In 1803 I was put to learn French with Mr. Francis Sales . . . his pronunciation was bad, as he came from the south of France. . . . I also learned a little Spanish with him—but very little: though he knew it tolerably well, having lived some time in Spain with an uncle, who like himself, was a refugee at the time of the Revolution."[13]

On 9 November 1816 President Kirkland wrote to Francis Sales, outlining a scheme of instruction and offering him an instructorship in French and Spanish, "the French or Spanish to be taught according to the option of the student or both [student and instructor]. . . . Since the Corporation was to meet on Tuesday," the President added, as a sort of hurry-up call, "perhaps you can send me some sort of answer. You might engage to try the experiment of six months or a year."[14]

Mr. Sales did not wait long before making his decision. He replied on 13 November, addressing his letter (in beautiful handwriting) to Rev. Kirkland, "President of the University of Cambridge [sic]," and saying, "I am ready whenever directed to commence the duties of my appointment with all the zeal and fidelity of which I am capable" (*Papers*, VIII, 31). He evidently began to teach in January 1817. Mr. Sales's salary was $1000 a year, and he taught both French and Spanish. The other modern language instructors who were later appointed received $500 a year.

Francis Sales continued to teach French and Spanish with "zeal and fidelity," and in 1835 Harvard conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. But in October 1838 his salary was reduced to $500, and thereafter he was to teach only Spanish. Francis Sales was a "friend to peace" and he did not make a protest until ten years later (18 February 1848) when he made a request to President Everett for a grant. The Corporation voted to give him $145 "for the current academic year." Sales was duly grateful, but thought that such generosity should continue. Whereupon he wrote to President Sparks (1 September 1849) explaining "from motives of imperious economy I have lived three years at one mile distance from the colleges, the rents in their vicinity being too high for my means. The said distance makes it very hard for me at the age of past three score and ten to attend to my duties, to evening lectures, amusements, and in short to society. In summer one is annoyed by the extreme heat, in winter by the extreme cold, in the pleasant seasons by rain storms and in the severe ones by snow storms; moreover, you have to pass, wade or slide through horrible mud, dust and ice at sundry periods of time in the year" (*College Papers*, XVII, 73). The members of the Corporation took Sales's letter to heart, and in that same month his salary was raised from $500 to $645. The minutes read "sixty [sic] hundred and forty five dollars per annum." Sales certainly deserved a raise. In one of his years of teaching he states that he taught seven hours a day every recitation day during the first term, and seven and a half hours during the second.

James Russell Lowell has an interesting description of Francis Sales. In an article, "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago," he mentions Sales's great laugh, his courtly bow, and his good humor. "Everything was a joke to him. . . . Everything came to him marked by Nature *Right Side Up With Care*, and he kept it so."[15]

Sales resigned on 25 January 1854 and he died that same year. In his will he gave his daughter all his household furniture, his "Personal effects" and

[8] Thomas Harrison Montgomery, *A History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Foundation to 1770* (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 49.

[9] University of Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Trustees*, I, 314.

[10] See J. Worth Banner, "Genesis in Modern Languages," *South Atlantic Bulletin*, XVII (1950), 1, 6-7. Also Lyon T. Tyler, "Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (1905), 71-83.

[11] Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1940), II, 323.

[12] In the National Archives in Washington, Dept. of State, Post Records, there is a holograph letter from Francis Sales to John Forsyth, U.S. Minister to Spain, in which Sales says that he "received principally [his] education in Cádiz . . . [that he was] born and brought up in the Catholic faith and embarked [for Boston] in 1793."

[13] Ticknor, *Life, Letters, and Journals* (Boston, 1877), I, 7.

[14] *Harvard College Papers*, VIII, 31.

[15] Lowell, "Fireside Travels. Cambridge Thirty Years Ago," *Putnam's Magazine*, III (1854), 481-482.

the income from his estate during her lifetime. At her decease his estate was to go to Harvard College to establish one or more scholarships and a prize—the income from $1000, to be "annually given, either in money or a gold medal of equivalent value, to the best scholar in Spanish, who shall have commenced the study of that language at Harvard College, and whose scholarship shall be determined by his proficiency in Spanish composition." (*Papers*, XXI, 293). This prize is still awarded at Harvard. It was won by J. D. M. Ford in 1895. The residue of Sales's estate was to constitute a fund, the income of which was to be expended for purchase of "books in the Spanish language, or of books illustrative of Spanish history and literature for the Public Library of the University."

The estate of Sales in stocks and bonds amounted to $9863. His library contained nearly 1000 volumes, French and Spanish, more than anything else, with some Italian, Portuguese, and English. These books were evidently considered as "Personal Effects," for the library was sold at auction. In the collection 508 items were listed and a considerable number of miscellaneous pamphlets. There were 172 items on French, 84 items on the Spanish language, and 108 on Spanish literature.

The great figure at Harvard in the early nineteenth century, so far as the teaching of Spanish was concerned, was George Ticknor,[16] who turned out to be not only a great teacher but a man with advanced ideas about school administration and methods of teaching languages. Ticknor was born on 1 August 1791. His father, a successful business man, was a graduate of Dartmouth College and had been a teacher. George Ticknor entered Dartmouth as a Junior and graduated in 1807. After graduation he read law and was admitted to the bar. At the same time he was continuing his study of Latin and Greek. He found he had no inclination for the practice of law, and after a trip south, during which he met Thomas Jefferson at Monticello, he sailed for England (1815). On the same ship was Edward Everett (later Professor of Greek at Harvard, Congressman, Minister to the Court of St. James, and deliverer of the Gettysburg Address —just before Lincoln). The two young men attended the University of Göttingen, and they were probably the first Americans to pursue advanced studies at a German University. Ticknor spent four years in Europe, during which he visited England, the Netherlands, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. He spent twenty months at the University of Göttingen.

In corresponding with Ticknor about the position at Harvard, President Kirkland and the Harvard Corporation did not appear to be very insistent upon immediate performance, and Ticknor did not seem anxious to leave his many distinguished acquaintances abroad for the routine of a college classroom. Ticknor wrote to his father from Göttingen on 9 November 1816, telling him about the offer from Harvard. The salary was to be "$1000 and fees, which [would amount] to $300 or $500. . . . The second point is the Spanish part. Here is at once a new subject of study proposed to me, to which I have paid no attention since I have been here. . . . If I am to be a professor of this literature, I must go to Spain" (*Life*, I, 116-117). It was some time, though, before Ticknor made up his mind about Harvard. His letter of acceptance was written from Rome on 6 November 1817.

Ticknor went to Spain in the spring of 1818. In his journal he writes about the horrible conditions of travel in the Peninsula. From Barcelona to Madrid, "I did not once sleep upon a bed, and several times merely rolled myself in my great coat and lay down upon the floor, which was badly paved. Twice I dined with our mules, who were not two steps from me."[17] In writing to his father, however, he makes light of these hardships. It was, he says, an unpleasant trip so far as accommodations were concerned, but "I never made a gayer journey in my life." His travelling companions were very agreeable and were greatly entertained when Ticknor read the *Quixote* to them in the coach. "Every reading was to me a lesson," he says.

Ticknor settled down in Madrid to a program of earnest study. " . . . at six o'clock I was seated at my books. At ten o'clock came my first instructor. After lunch he was joined by José Antonio Conde who discussed Spanish literature, he never left me until four o'clock, so that during four months . . . I read through with him a good proportion of what is classical in Spanish literature" (Northup, p. 38).

Ticknor enjoyed Madrid thoroughly. He went to the theater often. "Mayquez," he said, was playing at the Principe. In Madrid he met many distinguished people, and with all of them he felt perfectly at home. He writes about the enthusiasm of the Spaniards for bull fights. Ticknor attended only two of these affairs, and could not stay to the end either time. He visited El Escorial, Aranjuez, Córdoba, Málaga, Gibraltar, Sevilla, and Cádiz. In all he spent five months in Spain, May to October 1818. In spite of the fact that he liked Spain and the Spaniards immensely, he never visited the country again. He returned to the United States in June 1819, and "his formal induction to the Professorships of the French and Spanish languages, and of the belles letters to which he had been appointed took place in the church at Cambridge, on the 10th of August 1819" (*Life*, I, 319).

Ticknor's principal contribution as a teacher at Harvard was a course of lectures on French and Spanish literature. A syllabus of his lectures was sent to Thomas Jefferson, but the lectures themselves he destroyed. He does not seem to have taught any elementary courses.

The curriculum at Harvard in Ticknor's time was not essentially different from what it was when Miranda visited the institution. The course of study was designed to turn out right-thinking members of a New England society, and for the most part it did just that. Latin and Greek were the languages that were considered important. Modern foreign languages were tolerated. In the light of his experience abroad, Ticknor found this situation hardly satisfactory. No one could have spoken with more authority or more disparagingly of the institution than he. "We are neither a university—which we call ourselves, nor a respectable high school—which we ought to be" (*Life*, I, 358-359).

Ticknor was more than impatient with the system of instruction at Harvard. He argued for organization of departments, more freedom in the choice of studies, and sectioning according to proficiency. He evidently got his way in his own department, but the rest of the university was more conservative. His disagreement with the president and faculty over university organization certainly had a part in his resignation in May 1835, though he had originally planned to remain until his successor returned from Europe in the summer of the following year.

Ticknor was followed at Harvard by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and the mention of his name takes us to Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, where the teaching of modern languages began in a very modest way. In 1820 a Frenchman in Brunswick gave lessons in his native language, and the Board of Trustees voted that the Treasurer should pay the fees of the students who took French and that $5.00 be added to their next quarter's bills. It was not long before this condition improved, for at the commencement of 1825

[16] See Henry Grattan Doyle, "George Ticknor," *MLJ*, XXII (1937), 3-18. G. Ticknor, "Lecture on the Best Methods of Teaching the Living Languages" (ed. Doyle), *MLJ*, XXII (1937), 19-31. Samuel M. Waxman, "George Ticknor. A Pioneer Teacher of Modern Languages," *Hispania*, XXXII (1949), 426-432. O. W. Long, *Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor* (Williamstown, Mass., 1933).

[17] George Tyler Northup, *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, Univ. of Toronto Studies, Nos. 1-3, 1903-14, p. 24.

Mrs. Henry Dearborn, formerly Mrs. James Bowdoin, Jr., bequeathed to the college a fund of $1000 to found a professorship of French. With this encouragement the Board of Trustees voted in September that "a professorship be established for the instruction of the Junior and Senior classes in the modern languages of Europe, particularly the French and Spanish, and that until a professor be elected the Executive government . . . make the best provision in their power for such instruction at an expense to the college not exceeding the sum of $500 per annum."[18]

Longfellow had graduated from Bowdoin College in the year that the professorship in French and Spanish was established, and he received what he thought was the promise of the new professorship. But he was ill equipped to teach modern languages. He had studied only French in college, and very little of that. The Bowdoin trustees suggested that he study abroad—at his own expense—and this he decided to do. His friend George Ticknor, recalling his own profitable experience in Germany, strongly urged him to attend the University of Göttingen. Longfellow first visited France (which he did not like any too well), and then was uncertain where to go next, Germany, Italy, or Spain. His father wrote, "Your ulterior object cannot be accomplished unless you obtain an accurate knowledge of the French and Spanish languages. The situation you have in mind cannot be obtained unless you qualify yourself to teach both these languages correctly. . . . I consider the knowledge of the Spanish of more importance to you than German and Italian both."[19]

With this encouragement, Longfellow decided to go to Spain, even though he had heard that travelling there was extremely dangerous and that political conditions were unsettled. He remained in Spain eight months, from February to November 1827. Unlike Ticknor, who spent most of his time indoors studying the Spanish language and Spanish literature, Longfellow was more interested in what he could see of Spanish life. He attended public ceremonies, a bull fight, "the ceremony in the palace of the Queen when she served the twelve poor women and washed their hands, to commemorate Christ's washing the feet of the disciples; he saw the procession of the Host; he heard mass sung in the cathedrals; took what he calls a 'peep into good Spanish society,' and made friends at every opportunity."[20] He was interested in history and legends, country sports, and people high and low. "Every detail, every place, and every person interests him. Nothing escapes his attention. His curiosity is insatiable" (Whitman, p. 81). As a consequence, the knowledge he gained of the literature of Spain was rather slight. To make amends, he studied hard at it after his return to Bowdoin. He became highly enthusiastic over Spain, but, although he subsequently made three more visits to Europe, he never visited Spain again.

While Longfellow was in Europe, he was dealt a terrible blow. He received word that the Trustees of Bowdoin were formally offering him, not the professorship, but an instructorship, at a greatly reduced salary. In spite of his father's advice, Longfellow refused the instructorship and held out for the professorship. He eventually won out. But the trustees were not willing to go all the way. The salary of the regular professors was $1000 a year, and Longfellow was offered $800 as professor and $100 as Librarian. Longfellow accepted the modified offer. This academic bargaining, if such it was, rather than a misunderstanding, was anything but a good start in the teaching career of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Longfellow's duties as Librarian were not onerous. Attendance at the library was required only from twelve to one each day. And his position as professor was what he wanted. But conditions at Bowdoin were unsettled, and Longfellow was not happy there. He tried to get a position elsewhere—at the University of Virginia, at the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts,[21] and at New York University. He was not successful.

Under these circumstances it must have been a source of satisfaction to receive a letter from President Josiah Quincy of Harvard, 1 December 1834, sounding him out about the possibility of accepting a position at Harvard at $1500 a year. "Residence in Cambridge will be required," President Quincy wrote. Ticknor had lived in Boston by special dispensation. Longfellow did not hesitate to say that he would accept the position, if offered.

President Quincy's letter to Longfellow was very diplomatically worded. "Should it be your wish previously to your entering upon the duties of the office to reside in Europe at your own expense for a year or eighteen months, for the purpose of a more perfect attainment of the German, Mr. Ticknor will retain the office until your return."[22] On receipt of this letter, Longfellow no doubt recalled his first visit to Europe and the admonition given by George Ticknor about studying in Germany.

While in Europe Longfellow was commissioned to buy books for the Harvard Library, and $1000 was advanced to him for this purpose. There was no problem about spending this sum, and Longfellow asked for more money for books that he thought were needed. The vote of the Corporation was typical of other decisions that were made later, when Longfellow sent in requests to that august body. The Corporation voted "that it is not expedient to make a further appropriation for books for the Department of Modern Languages at this time." Longfellow's enthusiasm for purchasing books for Harvard vanished.

Longfellow was to hold two professorships, just as Ticknor had done, the Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures and Professor of Belles Lettres. In late November of 1836 Longfellow arrived in Cambridge all steamed up and ready to begin teaching, but to his surprise his duties had not been prescribed and no work was assigned to him. He occupied himself in preparing a series of lectures and engaging in social activities. Evidently, he had plenty of leisure time, for on 22 March 1837 he wrote to his father: "My first quarter's salary was paid without any ado. As yet, however, I have taken no active part in college instruction. There being no room for it" (Johnson, p. 22).

It was not until July of that year that the Corporation appointed a committee "to ascertain and report on the duties of the Smith Professor of Modern Languages, and of Belles Lettres." Longfellow met with this committee, and after considerable delay he received a schedule of duties. Among other assignments he was to superintend the other language instructors and visit their classes frequently.

Longfellow was anything but happy about some of the details of his academic program, and, unmindful of the response he had received when he had requested funds for more books, he protested to the Corporation. The minutes (15 March 1837) of the Corporation state: "A communication from Professor Longfellow was read by the President, proposing an alteration in the Rules of his Department, excusing him from attending the recitations of every class in the Modern Languages once a month, and also asking the use of a larger room for public lectures—whereupon [it was] voted that it is inexpedient to make such alteration, or such provision" (Johnson, p. 29). It can be sur-

[18] Louis C. Hatch, *The History of Bowdoin College* (Portland, Maine, 1927), p. 61.

[19] Lawrence Thompson, *Young Longfellow, 1807-1843* (New York, 1938), pp. 102-103.

[20] Iris Lilian Whitman, *Longfellow and Spain* (New York, 1927), p. 79.

[21] Joseph G. Coggswell and George Bancroft, *Prospectus of a School to be Established at Round Hill, Northampton, Massachusetts.* Cambridge, 20 June 1823. On account of financial difficulties this select school for boys closed in 1834.

[22] Carl L. Johnson, *Professor Longfellow of Harvard* (Eugene, Ore., 1944), p. 8. Review by Henry Grattan Doyle, *Hispania*, XXVII (1944), 320-329.

mised that Longfellow, if he recalled his difficulties with the Bowdoin trustees and his experience in buying books abroad for Harvard College, could hardly have felt very kindly toward college authorities.

Longfellow had four foreign instructors under his rather reluctant supervision. Sales taught French and Spanish; M. J. Surault, French; Pietro Bachi, Italian and Portuguese; and Charles Follen, and a little later Hermann Bokum, German. Bokum, it seems, gave considerable trouble, for he "conducted himself unbecomingly both in the class room and out of it." (Johnson, p. 30). Surault could not have been much better, for at the end of the spring term of 1838 both Bokum and Surault were dismissed. Longfellow tried to get Bachi's salary increased but, as he might have expected, the Corporation denied the request. It was not expedient. And to add to the troubles, Sales was getting ineffective as a teacher and problems of discipline were arising.

The school year 1838-39 was a hard one for Longfellow. He gave the series of lectures required of him as Smith Professor, and took over the French classes that had been taught by Surault. For this extra work he thought he should receive Surault's salary in addition to his own, and made representation to this effect to the Corporation. The Corporation, however, did not see it that way, though it did recommend a "fringe benefit" of eight dollars per student in French. Finally, in February 1840, a French instructor was appointed, Longfellow was relieved of his elementary French classes, and the "fringe benefits" of eight dollars ceased.

In 1846 Longfellow again had an extra load. Pietro Bachi had had difficulty living on his princely salary of $500 a year. He had gone into debt, and finally into bankruptcy. This situation could not be tolerated, of course, and President Everett, in spite of Longfellow's efforts in behalf of the Italian instructor, asked Bachi to resign. Longfellow took his classes, and again proposed that Bachi's salary should be added to his own. The Corporation, however, thought otherwise, and requested Longfellow to continue with the Italian classes at an increase in salary of $300, making a total take of $1800. Longfellow seems to have become resigned to the "generosity" of the Corporation by this time, for he taught the Italian classes for seven years. He finally found a suitable replacement in the person of Luigi Monti, but it was almost a year before the Corporation got around to employing him.

Longfellow had other causes for annoyance. In 1840 the faculty voted that "the study of one foreign language only . . . be allowed." The result of this regulation was an overcrowding in the French classes, and a reduction in others. Portuguese was discontinued. In 1844 the faculty voted that Latin and Greek be expanded from three recitations a week to four. Longfellow protested, but in vain. Soon thereafter the faculty reversed itself, but even so, Longfellow must have felt that a teaching career was not altogether without its drawbacks.

Longfellow did not teach much Spanish. In his lectures he devoted some time to Don Quixote, but he spent more time on German and Italian literatures. In the autum of 1838 and in the spring of 1846 he gave a course of lectures on Spanish drama. In this connection it is rather puzzling to note that in his diary for 27 March 1840 he writes of reading, for the first time, apparently, Lope's *El mejor alcalde el rey* and *La moza de cántaro*. In May of the same year he writes of having read Calderón's *La dama duende* and *El galán fantasma*. If he had read these important plays before this date, would he not have said so?

All along, Longfellow had felt a certain impatience at the amount of time that teaching required and the way his duties as professor interfered with the composing of poetry. He says that three days a week he goes to the classroom between seven and eight and comes out at three and four, with only an hour of intermission. "What should I be at fifty?" he writes, "A fat mill horse, grinding round with blinkers on" (Johnson, p. 34). He resigned in 1854, after eighteen years of service, the very year that Sales did.

It is not all clear how it was that James Russell Lowell seemed qualified to succeed to the post of Smith Professor at Harvard after the resignation of Longfellow. As a student at Harvard he had been publicly admonished for excessive absence from recitations, and "general negligence in themes, forensics and recitations," and in his senior year he had been "rusticated" to Concord "on account of continued neglect of his college duties."[23] As for modern languages, he had studied some German—"I get on in German astonishingly, it comes quite easy to me now" (Scudder, I, 36). But certainly there was little in his college record to mark him as a future professor of modern foreign languages.

After graduation from Harvard in 1838 Lowell had studied law for a while and had won considerable success as a writer. His income, though, from these sources was hardly adequate, and a career in the field of law seemed to promise no great financial returns. With regard to the vacancy at Harvard, Longfellow states that there were six candidates (Lowell says seven) for the position and Lowell was not one of the six. And yet, only three weeks after beginning (January 1855) a series of very successful lectures on English poetry at the Lowell Institute in Boston, Lowell received the Harvard appointment.

Like his predecessors, Ticknor and Longfellow, Lowell was encouraged to devote some time abroad to prepare for his new work. He spent a little over a year in Europe, principally in Germany and Italy. In Germany he wrote that he was studying Spanish "with a nice Spaniard who is in the house, to whom I teach English in return."[24] He did not visit Spain.

Lowell was very glad to accept the position at Harvard because the salary of $1200 gave him a security he had not enjoyed before. His duties, for some reason or other, did not at first include the supervision of the language instructors, as was the case with his predecessors. In a letter to Miss Norton in the fall of 1859, however, he says: "I am trying to reform the Spanish and Italian classes. . . . I am studying Spanish, as I did German in Dresden, reading it in all my leisure time, and before long mean to make myself thorough in it. . . . My Spanish class is a very good one; there are only five, and they all do their best" (Scudder, II, 76). Lowell was expected to deliver only two courses of lectures during the year. The subjects were not specified, but Lowell's choices came to be Dante, Old French, and German literature, with an occasional excursion into the *Quixote*.

In the course of time Lowell's duties as professor became burdensome—and no wonder—because his work as Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and later of the *North American Review*, in addition to creative writing, took much of his time and energy. Nevertheless, Lowell spent sixteen consecutive years at Harvard, from 1856 to 1872. After a successful period of service as Minister to Spain from 1877 to 1880, and later at the Court of St. James, he returned for a time to Harvard to teach Old French and Dante. Two other principal contributions by Lowell to the cause of teaching are a plea for the humanities on the occasion (1886) of the 250th anniversary of Harvard College, and an address on the importance of modern languages at a meeting of the Modern Language Association in 1889, when he was President of the Association (*PMLA*, V, 1890, 5-22).

After the death of Francis Sales, Santiago Curcio Bello continued with the Spanish instruction at

[23] Horace Elisha Scudder, *James Russell Lowell, A Biography* (Boston, 1901), I, 30, 47.

[24] Ferris Greenslet, *James Russell Lowell. His Life and Work* (Boston, 1905), p. 114.

Harvard until 1858, when he resigned "due to protracted illness in his family." From that date until 1866, Spanish seems to have been taught irregularly at Harvard.

On 18 July 1866, at a meeting of the Board of Overseers, Bennett Hubbard Nash (Harvard, A.B., 1856; Harvard, M.A.) was appointed Instructor of Italian and Spanish. The name of Mr. Nash had appeared in the Harvard records before this date in several places. In September 1852, at a meeting of the college faculty, it was voted that Bennett H. Nash be admitted to the Freshman class "on consideration of studying Greek for the present term with a private tutor." On 21 April 1856, at another meeting of the faculty, it was voted that Mr. Nash "be admonished for absence from [ten] prayers." On the other hand, Mr. Nash got a good mark on October 1854, when E. Arnould, Instructor in French, turned in a report to the President and the Visiting Committee, rating ten of his twenty-nine students, in the Third Division of French, as the best. Of these "The Best of the Best was Mr. Nash."[25]

Charles H. Grandgent wrote about Mr. Nash: "Of Italian upbringing, he was always a polished, kindly gentleman, fond of system, with a European culture and a Yankee devotion to duty."[26] Nash rose through the ranks to become Professor of Italian and Spanish in 1881. He taught until 1894.

Longfellow was succeeded at Bowdoin by Daniel Raynes Goodwin of the Class of 1832. He had been called to Bowdoin as a tutor and, although well versed in the classics and mathematics, he had had no special training in the modern languages. But since an instructor was urgently needed, Goodwin was pressed into service in that capacity. At the end of the year the Visiting Committee reported that he had proved himself thoroughly competent. Nevertheless, it was thought advisable for him to study abroad for two years. During these two years modern languages were taught at Bowdoin by Samuel Adams of the Class of 1831, then a student in the medical school, and afterwards President of Illinois College.

Goodwin returned to Bowdoin in due time and continued to teach there until 1853, when he left to become President of Trinity College, and later Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. He was succeeded by Charles Carroll Everett, Bowdoin 1850, who served two years as tutor and two as professor, and then lost re-election "because he was a Unitarian" (Hatch, p. 103).

From 1857 to 1862 modern languages were taught by an instructor, and during one year instruction was omitted entirely. Finally, in 1862 the department was put in charge of Stephen Jewett Young, Bowdoin 1859. He served for fourteen years, part of the time, like Longfellow, as Librarian. In 1866 he thought it was time to protest. He said he was supposed to teach French, German, Italian, and Spanish, to act as Librarian, and to keep a register of absences. This he thought was too much. The librarian-registrar, he said, should be paid a separate salary, and the office given to someone not already so fully occupied. "I do not wish any assistance, in my department," he wrote, "neither do I desire to neglect any of its duties. I simply ask to be relieved from so much outside work in order that I may be enabled to give proper attention to the work which properly belongs to me" (Hatch, p. 104). The protest seems to have been unheeded, for Young continued as Librarian until 1869. He was succeeded by C. C. Springer (Bowdoin 1874), who was replaced by Henry Johnson, "Frenchy," as the students called him, who taught French until his death in 1918. Exactly how much Spanish was taught after Longfellow left Bowdoin is not clear.

The story of the teaching of Spanish in other colleges and universities in the United States during the nineteenth century is not one of continuous growth. We find only sporadic interest in the subject, with a few outstanding teachers. J. R. Spell mentions a Felix Merino who taught Spanish at the University of Pennsylvania from 1825 to 1829.[27] In 1828 a certain Augustus Willis appears in the "Faculty Book" among the tutors as "Teacher of the Spanish language." *The Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers and Students* for 1829 lists Augustus Willis in the "Collegiate Department" as Instructor in Spanish. With regard to the offering of this language by the college, the regulations in the catalogue state that "Spanish, French and German may be pursued if required by parents." This statement is repeated on another page, perhaps to make the rule crystal clear. The next Pennsylvania catalogue available, that of 1835, makes no mention of Augustus Willis. His career seems to have been short lived. The next reference to Spanish at the University of Pennsylvania is in the Minutes of the Trustees, 6 September 1870, where "On motion it was resolved that the Committee on the Departments of Arts be authorized to make temporary arrangements for instruction in the Spanish language and literature." This committee seems to have acted with a considerable degree of speed, for in the minutes of 4 October 1870 we find: "Resolved that the Chairman be authorized to make an arrangement with Mr. [León] de la Costa to give instruction in Spanish during the pleasure of the Committee at One Dollar and Fifty Cents per lesson, say four lessons per week of one hour each." How long De la Costa continued with this arrangement is not known.

By far the most significant event at the University of Pennsylvania, so far as Spanish is concerned, was the addition to the Pennsylvania faculty of Hugo A. Rennert in 1885.[28] At first, however, Rennert had nothing to do with Spanish. He was Instructor in French and German from 1885 to 1892, though in the 1889-90 catalogue among the "Special and Partial Courses" Spanish is listed (Mondays at 1:00 for one hour a week) and the instructors are Professor Easton (Morton W. Easton, Professor of Comparative Philology and Adjunct Professor of Greek) and Mr. Rennert. The text was Knapp's *Spanish Grammar and Reader*.

In 1892 Rennert was made Assistant Professor of Romance Languages and two courses in Spanish were offered, both taught by him. In the graduate school he is listed for Old Spanish and for "Later or Modern Spanish." In 1893-94 Rennert, now Professor of Romance Languages and Literature, is shown as teaching only Elementary Spanish in the College and Old Spanish in the Graduate School. His fame, of course, rests principally on his study of the Spanish stage and his life of Lope de Vega. Upon his death in 1927 he left his valuable library to the University.

J. R. Spell states that in the first college in Louisiana established under American rule, the College of Orleans, Spanish was taught, and also in the College of Louisiana which succeeded it in 1826. Mariano Cubí y Soler taught there in 1827 (?) after leaving St. Mary's in Baltimore. The College of Jefferson, established in 1831, had students who "turned with accuracy and elegance Spanish into French and English" (Spell, p. 145).

At the time of its foundation the University of Virginia, under the guidance of Thomas Jefferson, probably had more interest in foreign languages than any other college or university in the early years of the nineteenth century. In April 1824 the Board of Visitors adopted a program of studies which included a School of Modern Languages in which French, Italian, Spanish, German, and

[25] Harvard College, *Reports to the Overseers, Instruction Series*, I (1855-56), 53.

[26] Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Development of Harvard University Since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1927* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 68.

[27] Spell, "Spanish Teaching," *Hispania*, X (1927), 148. Merino probably taught until 1827.

[28] Hugo A. Rennert, B.S., Univ. Penn., 1876; LL.B., Penn., 1881; A.M., gratiae causa, Penn., 1891; Ph.D., Univ. of Freiburg in Breisgau, 1891.

Anglo-Saxon would be taught. Studies were to be elective, as was the case at William and Mary earlier. The School of Modern Languages started off well. In 1825 there were 73 in the school, as against 57 in ancient languages, and 73 in mathematics.[29]

The University of Virginia really meant business when it came to the selection of professors, and Jefferson wanted the best there were. Among the best in his opinion was George Ticknor, who was approached with an inducement of the first magnitude for those days, namely, "a pavilion, an annual salary of two thousand dollars, and a fee of $10 for each student belonging to his class, with a total emolument of twenty-five hundred dollars specifically guaranteed."[30] A rough comparison of taxes and the cost of living in 1820 and in 1961 indicates that the equivalent today would be well over $12,000. For Ticknor, however, Park Street in Boston was not to be forsaken for any such inducement.

In 1824 Francis Walker Gilmer was sent to England to secure professors for the institution in which Jefferson was so much interested. Among the people interviewed was George Blaetterman, who had been recommended by Ticknor. Gilmer reported back that he had offered Blaetterman $1500 "for the first year, with an intimation that he would probably be reduced to $1000 in the second. . . . He speaks English well, though not without a foreign accent."[31]

Blaetterman arrived in December 1824 and continued until 1840, when he retired. He taught many languages in the newly formed School of Modern Languages: French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Anglo-Saxon. This program seems sufficient for the salary, but other languages were available if desired: Danish, Swedish, "Hollandish," and Portuguese. Blaetterman's place was taken in 1841 by Charles Kraitsir, who taught from 1841 to 1844.

Kraitsir was followed in 1844 by Maximilian Schele de Vere, who continued in that post until 1895. He died in 1898. Born in Sweden in 1820, the son of an army officer, he studied at Bonn and at Berlin, where he received his Ph.D. in 1841. He came to Boston in 1843 and studied Modern Greek at Harvard. There he met Ticknor and Longfellow. Schele was for many years the sole instructor in the School of Modern Languages. He continued the work of his predecessors and taught French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Anglo-Saxon. He was relieved of some of this load, however, in 1888, when William H. Perkinson was appointed Adjunct Professor of German.

Schele was a "man of distinction." He wrote for magazines and newspapers, published a *French Grammar* (1867), a *Spanish Grammar* (1853, later editions, 1889, 1899), *Outlines of Comparative Philology* (1853), *Studies in English* (1867), and *The English of the New World* (1873). Bruce (III, 821) thus describes him: "Gracious and suave in spirit, polished in manner, finical in dress, and precise in language, he bore on his cultivated personality the hallmark of the Parisian boulevard."

The July 1894 number of the Virginia *Alumni Bulletin* called attention to the fact that Professor Schele would complete fifty years of service in September, and that it would be appropriate to present him with "a handsome piece of silver, suitably inscribed." The response to this suggestion was immediate and enthusiastic, and on 23 September Schele received "a large punch bowl of solid silver lined with gold and a ladle to match, the whole enclosed in a handsome quartered oak case trimmed with brass." The inscription was appropriate, and so was a letter that was delivered at the presentation ceremony.

Since it is not possible to give a complete rundown on the teaching of Spanish in all the colleges and universities in the United States, we can mention only a number of "firsts" that seem significant or unusual. In 1800 Father Peter Babad, an emigré French priest, who had spent five years in Spain before coming to this country, taught two courses in Spanish at St. Mary's College in Baltimore, and continued there until his return to France in 1820. He was succeeded by Mariano Cubí y Soler, who taught at St. Mary's for seven years (Williams, I, 174).

On the faculty of Charleston College in 1806 was Joseph Assalit, part-time instructor in French and Spanish.

In 1830 Mariano Velázquez de la Cadena, later of dictionary fame, was appointed Professor of Spanish Language and Literature at Columbia College (University). This appointment seems peculiar in that he is said to have received no salary and was not a member of the governing body. Franklin B. Hough credits him with teaching from 1830 to 1860.[32]

At the University of Alabama in 1831 Sauveur François Bonfils, a native of France and a graduate of the University of Pisa, was appointed Professor of Modern Languages. He was scheduled for one hour a day in French with the Sophomores, and one hour with the Juniors. If anyone wanted to study Spanish or Italian, special arrangements had to be made. A high point in the acquisition of a foreign language, and one probably not attained by any other university, was an oration in Spanish delivered at the commencement of 1856 by one W. G. Gamble.

At the College of New Jersey (Princeton), Lewis Hargous, A.M., was Professor of Modern Languages from 1830 to 1836. In 1833 he is mentioned as Professor of the French and Spanish Languages. His salary was $500. "Hargous was a Romanist, but he never intruded his opinion upon others."[33]

Hough (p. 226) gives a list of the Spanish teachers in the University (College) of the City of New York from 1832 to 1878. The first of these was Miguel Cabrera de Nevares, who taught there from 1832 to 1834. Cabrera was born in Valladolid in 1785, entered military service, and was Editor of *El Duende de los Cafés* in Cadiz, 1 August 1813 to 14 May 1814. His liberal ideas made it necessary for him to flee to the United States. He returned to Spain, however, only to be forced to leave again. In one of his advertisements as a teacher in the New York *Mirror* he speaks of himself as an ex-Governor of a province in Spain. He spent considerable time in Cuba. Trelles in his *Bibliografía cubana del siglo XIX* says he died in 1843.

After him came Charles Rubadan, 1834-38, and M. Garbayo, 1840-42, about whom we can learn nothing, and then Julio Soler. Soler was born in Menorca, studied in Madrid to be an engineer, but gave it up when he left for the United States. After teaching in various "institutos," among which was probably the University of the City of New York, 1842-48, he returned to his native land, where he devoted himself to civic improvement. While in the United States he wrote a number of textbooks.

Soler was followed by Francisco Javier Vingut (Hough misspells his name Vinguet) who taught from 1848 to 1857 and published a number of books. After him, Hough mentions Angel Herreros de Mora, 1860-69, and Louis F. Mantilla. Mantilla was born in Havana in 1833 and died in New York in 1878. Hough says he taught at the University of the City of New York from 1869 to 1878. He, too, published a number of textbooks

[29] E. W. Bagster-Collins, and others, *Studies in Modern Language Teaching* (New York, 1930), p. 60.

[30] Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1810-1919* (New York, 1920-22), I, 339.

[31] Paul Brandon Barringer, and others, *The University of Virginia. Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics* . . . (New York, 1904), I, 93.

[32] Franklin B. Hough, *Historical and Statistical Record of the University of the City of New York During the Century from 1784-1884* (Albany, 1885), p. 226.

[33] John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1877), II, 300.

in Spanish and also elementary treatises on physiology, hygiene, physics, natural history. He wrote *Nociones de lengua francesa* and a *Catecismo de moral universal*."[84]

Not until 1848-49 was Spanish listed in the catalogue of the University of Michigan. The course was evidently given, for a certain Samuel Harper was found deficient in Spanish. There is no further mention of this language until the spring of 1868, when Spanish is listed with Italian as an elective. Apparently from 1870 to 1887 Spanish and Italian were given alternately. Since then, instruction in Spanish has been continuous, except for one semester in 1888. In 1904 Charles Philip Wagner was appointed to the faculty, and a real expansion of Spanish began.

At the Naval Academy at Annapolis a Department of Modern Languages was established in 1850 which included French and Spanish. In the following year the two languages were separated, and E. A. Roger became head of the Department of Spanish, a position that he held until 1873. In that year French and Spanish were combined into one department, with Commander W. Scott Schley in charge.[85]

At West Point Spanish was introduced in 1856, following the Mexican War, and a professorship was established in 1857. In 1885 Lieutenant Elmer W. Hubbard, criticising West Point for giving too much emphasis to mathematics, said that the "study of the Spanish language and Drill Regulations were not necessary,"[86] a curious pairing of subjects.

In its early days Louisiana State University, then called the State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy, was located at Pine Woods, near Alexandria, and its first superintendent was none other than William Tecumseh Sherman. The Seminary opened its doors in January 1860, and in the "Official Register" for that year E. Berte St. Ange is listed in the "Academic Board" as Professor of Modern Languages. It is clear that he taught Spanish as well as French, because the textbooks are listed in the Register. One of them was a *Spanish Grammar* edited by Francis Sales. There is a tradition at Louisiana State University that St. Ange was a formidable duellist. The Seminary was closed during the War, and the "gorgeous palace" of the Seminary, as Sherman termed it, was burned to the ground in 1869, whereupon the institution changed its name and location. For a few years after the war, Spanish was taught at irregular intervals.

When Cornell opened its doors in 1868, Willard Fiske was to give instruction in the North European languages, but he was detained in Europe, and Thomas Frederick Crane was appointed Assistant Professor of German and Spanish in his stead. Crane had graduated from Princeton in 1864, and at that time no modern languages were taught in course. French and German could be studied on the outside. Crane had studied Spanish on his own and against the advice of George Ticknor.

At the Virginia Military Institute a Department of Modern Languages was approved in July 1867 and Colonel Thomas M. Semmes was put in charge of it. The new department embraced "such modern languages, including German and Spanish, as might properly be introduced." Curiously enough, Spanish was not "properly introduced" until 1903.

Spanish at Yale seems to have been taught during the 19th century on a sort of hit-or-miss basis. In the Yale catalogue for 1824 there is no mention of modern languages, but apparently Spanish was taught in 1826-27. Williams (I, 192) mentions a Charles Roux teaching Spanish in 1826, and José Antonio Pizarro about two years later. For many years Spanish was not among the electives in the courses of instruction. In the catalogue for 1879-80 William Ireland Knapp appears as "Acting Professor of Modern Language," and Spanish is among the optional studies. In the catalogue for the next year Knapp is listed as Street Professor of Modern Languages. A Colgate A.B. in 1860, he taught French and German there, 1860-65, then taught at Vassar Female College, 1865-67, when he received his Ph.D. from Colgate. In that year he resigned from Vassar and went to Europe, where he spent eleven years, chiefly in Spain, where he did research work in Spanish literature of the 16th century. He came to Yale in 1879 and remained there until 1892, when he went to Chicago with William Rainey Harper. Knapp wrote several Spanish textbooks and edited the works of Boscán and Hurtado de Mendoza.

If we review the history of the teaching of Spanish in the colleges and universities in the nineteenth century, it is clear that the language seldom formed part of the curriculum. In some cases, provision was made for studying it outside the classroom, and no credit was given. The value of residence abroad for teachers was recognized, if the instructor was an American. In many cases the instructor was a foreigner, either someone who had spent some time in Spain, or was a bona fide Spaniard. The usual salary of the instructors was $500, hardly a living wage.

SPANISH GRAMMARS

The first Spanish grammar published in the United States seems to have been Garrat Noel's *A Short Introduction to the Spanish Language, to which is added a vocabulary of familiar words for the more speedy improvement of the learner; with a preface showing the usefulness of this language particularly in these parts.* New York, Printed by James Parker, 1751. Noel, who lived in New York and gave private lessons in Spanish and Portuguese, was also a bookseller. His grammar apparently was the only one in the field for many years.

In 1795 we have transplanting from England, a *New Spanish Grammar, or the Elements of the Spanish Language*, written by Hippolyto San José Giral del Pino and published in Philadelphia.[87] This text had no scruples about proclaiming its utility: "containing [as it does] an easy and compendious method to speak and write [Spanish] correctly, with several useful remarks on the most particular idioms and fundamental rules, showing how to make use of them, as well in speaking as in writing, the whole extracted from the best observations of Spanish grammarians and particularly of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid; to which is added an English grammar for the use of Spaniards." This grammar had first been published in London in 1763, with a second edition in 1777, and a third in 1787.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century we have another transplanting from England, Felipe Fernández, *A New Practical Grammar of the Spanish Language in Five Parts; the whole in English and Spanish, and calculated to render the study of the Spanish language easy, comprehensive and entertaining . . .*, Philadelphia, (1801?). In 1810 Matthias James [Matías Santiago] O'Conway published in Philadelphia his *Hispano-Anglo Grammar; containing the definitions, structure, inflections, reference, arrangement, concord, government and combination of the various classes of words in the Spanish language.*[88]

The above claims of usefulness vanish into insignificance when compared with what we have in 1811, composed by Nicolás Gouin Dufief (1776?-1834). This is *La naturaleza descubierta*

[84] See Doris King Arjona and Jaime Homero Arjona, *A Bibliography of Textbooks of Spanish Published in the United States, 1795-1939* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939).

[85] O'Conway (1766-1842) had become official translator for the State of Pennsylvania in 1802. The publisher of his *Hispano-Anglo Grammar*, Thomas Dobson, gave him $200 for the text and 100 bound copies for the copyright. See Lawrence F. Flick, "Matthias James O'Conway," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, X (1899), 257-299, 385-422; XI (1900), 9-32, 156-176.

[84] See Espasa, *Enciclopedia*, XXXII, article "Mantilla."

[85] C. R. P. Rogers, *Historical Sketch of the United States Naval Academy*, Washington, 1876.

[86] Sidney Forman, *A History of the United States Military Academy* (New York, 1950), p. 142.

en su modo de enseñar las lenguas a los hombres [English translation follows]; *or, a new and infallible method of acquiring a language in the shortest time possible, deduced from the analysis of the human mind and consequently suited to every capacity* [Spanish translation follows]. This remarkable grammar was "adapted to the Spanish" by Manuel de Torres and L. Hargous. The same book appeared in 1825 with an additional "adapter," M. Velázquez de la Cadena, and this time its claims reach a height never attained by any grammar since; it is a compilation "to which is prefixed a development of the author's plan of tuition, differing entirely from any other, so powerful in its operation, and so very economical, that a liberal education can be afforded even to the poorest of mankind, by which is obtained the great desideratum of enabling nations to arrive at the highest degree of mental perfection."

In 1817 we have still another transplanting, this time of a somewhat specialized nature: Juan Emmanuel Mordente's *A New, Easy and Complete Grammar of the Spanish Language, Commercial and Military; with a copious vocabulary, dialogues, a correspondence, fables and prose and poetical extracts from the best authors. . . .* First American from the last London edition (1807?). The juxtaposition of fables, poetical extracts, and commercial and military matters seems a trifle odd.

The career of Francis Sales, like that of many instructors and professors of today, included the publication of textbooks, some of them very successful. In 1822 he "adapted to the English language" the Spanish grammar of Agustin Louis Josse, "the first American from the last Paris edition (probably 1818)," containing "a list of the abbreviations which are frequently found in writing, a treatise on pronunciation and alterations in orthography . . . comparative rules of the Spanish and English languages, a general scheme of the terminations of regular verbs . . . a table illustrating the use of prepositions in Spanish, lists of the names of different principal cities and Christian names . . . a collection of exercises interlined, a vocabulary with familiar phrases and dialogues."

The life of Josse is an interesting one. He was born in France in 1763. During the Reign of Terror he narrowly escaped falling a victim to the revolution. Having found refuge beyond the Pyrenees, he remained in Spain for four years, and there mastered Spanish and Italian. Toward the close of the century he settled in England, living at first in London. He published a series of elementary language texts, which helped to establish his repute as a teacher of languages. In 1808 he put out an edition of Antonio de Solís' *Historia de la Conquista de México*. In 1813 he was appointed professor of French literature to Princess Charlotte of Wales. Among his other pupils were the Duke of Wellington, Luttrell, the wit, and John Kemble, the tragedian. In February 1828 Bishop Poynter induced Josse to take charge of the Catholic mission at Gloucester. There he spent the last twelve years of his life in the presbytery attached to the Church of St. Peter's Chains in the London Road. He died, aged 78, on 25 January 1841. In 1799 Josse published in London his *Eléments de la grammaire espagnole*, which had a second edition in 1804, a fourth in 1817, and others in 1824, 1830, and 1845. There were Paris editions of 1818, 1824, 1828, 1845, and 1865.

Sales's revision of Josse's grammar was very successful. In 1857 the sixteenth edition was published, and there was another edition after that, in 1869. Earlier grammars seem to have been written for the general public, but Sales's book was adapted to school use. We find frequent reference to its adoption in the colleges and universities of the United States. In 1859 a certain Edward Greenville Russell published *A Key to the Practical Exercises in Josse's Grammar, Sales' edition.*

Sales dedicated his grammar "To the Patrons and Lovers of the Spanish Language in the United States of North-America." Unlike the grammars of today, his rules and illustrations are in the front part of the book and the exercises in the back. These exercises are interlinear, with the English version in one line and a broken sentence below, where the learner is expected to fill in the blank spaces, and change the Spanish words to the proper form. There are no exercises for Spanish into English. To make pronunciation clear, Sales puts a written accent on the accented syllable of every word of more than one syllable. The fact that this made it impossible to identify Spanish words that regularly have a written accent mark does not seem to have occurred to him. The vocabulary, arranged by classification (parts of the body, ages, qualities of the body, virtues and vices, eating and drinking, etc.), has a great many unusual words, such as *ingle, gaznate, recatado, mugeriego, pan de mijo*, etc. The sections "Familiar Phrases" and "Familiar Dialogues" are useful, although here, too, we find expressions that would seldom be used, such as "Sólo alumbran los relámpagos," or "¿Han traído nuestras pistolas?" The thirteenth edition has at the end a short section in Spanish for reading (fables, jokes, and moral sayings), a section on commercial correspondence, and one on Spanish versification. Sales certainly aimed to be complete. Encouraged, perhaps, by the reception accorded Josse's grammar, Sales got out one of his own in 1826, *Rudiments of the Spanish Language*, but this was not very successful. No second edition of this grammar is listed in Arjona, nor does one appear in the Library of Congress catalogues.

The year 1822 seems to have been a favorable one for Spanish grammars, for two were published in that year: Sales's adaptation of Josse's grammar and Mariano Cubí y Soler's *A New Spanish Grammar; adapted to every class of learners*, Baltimore, 1822. There were editions of 1825, 1826, and 1840, with a sixth edition in 1847. Cubí y Soler also published a version in Spanish, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Baltimore, 1824. *The North American Review*, XX (1825), 450-451, has a review of the first of these grammars, probably written by the editor, Jared Sparks, which mentions Sales's adaptation of Josse's grammar and "without pretending to institute a comparison . . ." it praises Cubí's text, mentioning, among other things "the new theater of enterprise . . . in the South American republics."

Mariano Cubí y Soler (1801-75) was a Catalan who came to the United States at the age of twenty and settled in Baltimore, where he taught Spanish for a number of years. From Baltimore he went to Havana in 1829, and there he founded a *colegio*, and later another in Tampico, Mexico. Returning to the United States, he taught, according to Spell, in Louisiana from 1837 until 1842, when he returned to Spain. Cubí had early (1828) become interested in phrenology and, besides publishing another fairly successful text, *El Traductor Inglés*, he put out such books as *Manual de Frenología* and a *Manual práctico de magnetismo animal*.[39]

The North was not the only region in the United States to publish a Spanish grammar, or to be interested in Spanish. Charleston, South Carolina, deserves to be mentioned in this connection, and the author of the Spanish grammar in question was Agustín de Letamendi (1795-1854), who "was among the first, if not actually the first to make such instruction [Spanish] available there as a private tutor."[40] Letamendi was the author of *A Spanish Grammar: Dedicated to the Youth of North America*. Charleston, South Carolina,

[39] See Espasa, *Enciclopedia*, VI, article "Cubí y Soler."

[40] James F. Shearer, "Agustín de Letamendi: A Spanish Expatriate in Charleston, S.C. (1825-1829)," *South Carolina Historical and Geneological Magazine*, XLIII (1942), 18-26; "French and Spanish Works Printed in Charleston," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXIV (1940), 137-140.

printed and published by William Riley, 125 Church-Street, 1826.

According to J. F. Shearer, Letamendi "was, at different times during his career, a liberal journalist, political exile, pedagogue, and man of letters, able, through the medium of his personality and varied activities to interpret the Spanish life and culture of his day to three American communities, St. Augustine, Charleston, and Columbia, S.C. Letamendi had come to the United States in 1823 and was for two years the Spanish consular representative in St. Augustine for East Florida. His salary was supposed to be 15,000 reales a year, which he translated into American money as $1875, but of which he says he never received a cent. His trouble was with Ferdinand VII of Spain, and the cause of his difficulties was his liberal ideas, though it is not clear just how these ideas were expressed. Letamendi left St. Augustine for Charleston in July 1825 with his wife and brother and remained there until late in 1828. He had advertisements in the Charleston *Courier* to teach French and Spanish. In February 1828 he was appointed Professor of Modern Languages in the Male Academy of the South Carolina Society. He evidently did not teach there long, because he left at the end of the year to take a teaching position in the Richland School in Columbia, S.C. He stayed in Columbia a few years. Then, evidently in good graces again with the Spanish government, he was appointed Secretary of Legation in Belgium. He returned to Spain in 1843 and wrote for a periodical that had the terrifying name of *El Clamor Público*.

Of all the writers of Spanish texts, one of the most prolific was Mariano Velázquez de la Cadena of Columbia College. His first venture into this fertile field, except for the adaptation of Dufief mentioned above, seems to have been *The Elements of the Spanish Language Simplified*, in 1835. This was followed by Velázquez and T. Simonné, *Ollendorff's New Method of Learning to Read, Write and Speak the Spanish Language*, in 1848, and *A Key to Ollendorff's New Method* . . . in the same year. Another edition of the Ollendorff's new method appeared in 1852, and a *Revised Ollendorff Method* in 1901. Velázquez published *An Easy Introduction to Spanish Conversation* in 1849, and this book had another edition in 1899.

Heinrich Gothfried Ollendorff (1803-65) had devised a method that had become immensely popular in the case of his German and English grammars. It was based upon the principle that every question carries with it its answer. After the learner hears and understands the question, he can frame an answer, reproducing the sounds, and giving a positive or a negative reply.

Velázquez' great work in Spanish was his Spanish dictionary, first published by Appleton in 1852, abridged in 1854 (other editions 1873, 1898, and 1899), and reissued in 1864, 1883, 1899 and 1902. Cubí y Soler had published *A New Pocket Dictionary of the English and Spanish Languages* in 1823, but before Velázquez, the most important dictionary was Henry Neuman's *Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*, in 1823 (abridged by Velázquez in 1901), followed by Neuman and Giuseppi Baretti's *Dictionary* in 1827, which had another edition in 1842.

In view of the emphasis being given recently to the spoken side of modern foreign languages, and in this connection we should note that George Ticknor was in favor of it, it is interesting to observe that before the middle of the nineteenth century this phase of language learning was not neglected. We have, for example, Carlos Rabadan's *Manesca's Oral System of Teaching Living Languages, Illustrated by a Course of Lessons in Spanish*. . . . This method, called the "Serial and Oral Method," was originated by John Manesca (1774-1837). The idea was to communicate a knowledge of the spoken language by a method which was "the same in principle as that which Nature employs in teaching the child its mother tongue."

A grammar that frequently appears in college and university course offerings later in the century is that by William Ireland Knapp (1835-1903), *A Grammar of the Modern Spanish Language as Now Written and Spoken in the Capital of Spain*, (copyright, 1882; second edition, 1898; second edition, revised, 1902; and still another "supplemented by the new system of accentuation prescribed by the Royal Academy of Spain," by Henry R. Lemly, in 1910). Knapp also published *Class Readings (Lecturas de Clase), escogidas de autores españoles que hoy viven;* an edition of Pardo Bazán's *Pascual López*, 1905; and the *Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow*, New York, 1899.

By all odds the most important grammar published during the century was Marathon Montrose Ramsey's *A Text-book of Modern Spanish, as now written and spoken in Castile and the Spanish-American republics*. It was published in 1894, after which the editions were far apart—1922 and 1934.[41] In 1956 it was completely revised by Robert K. Spaulding of the University of California at Berkeley.[42] In 1902 Ramsey published *A Spanish Grammar*, which was intended to be a shortened and easier form of his *Textbook*. The *Textbook* had 653 pages, and the shortened form 610 pages!

It is interesting to note that Ramsey mentions the "Spanish-American Republics" on the title-page of his first grammar. This seems to be the first time that writers of grammars were aware of the Spanish-speaking countries to the South. In the introduction he says: "The present course of events, tending to bring the United States into more intimate relations with the Latin republics of the South, calls for instruction in the Spanish language, more practical and in greater detail than is afforded by any work now in use."

SPANISH READERS

In the Arjona *Bibliography of Textbooks of Spanish* one of the first in the field of Spanish readers is a text by a certain John J. Lerena, called *Spanish Telegraph, a new and easy method to read Spanish in a few days, with correct pronunciation*, 1825. It is far from clear what that book is—or was. Certainly, it was not an important text, and it may not have been a reader at all in the true sense of the word.

When we come to an early reader that can be so classified beyond the shadow of a doubt, we find ourselves back with Matías Santiago O'Conway, whose reader bears the interesting title, *Rasgos históricos y morales sacados de autores célebres de diversas naciones y destinados para la instrucción e entretenimiento de los estudiantes del idioma español*, Philadelphia, Bradford, 1809.

Francis Sales seems to have been second in the field with his *Colmena Española (Spanish Hive)*, published in Boston in 1825. There were other editions in 1832 and 1867. Sales's *Hive* sheltered selections from Padre Isla, Luis de Granada, Teodoro de Almeyda, José Cadalso, Feijóo, Lorenzo Gracián, López de Gomara, Agustín de Rojas, Antonio de Solís, Pedro Montengón, Mateo Alemán, Saavedra Fajardo, José Vargas y Ponce, José de Viera y Clavio, Francisco de Quevedo, Lazarillo de Tormes, Cervantes, and Pellicer. This text of 216 pages is indeed an anthology in every sense of the word. Another Spanish text by Sales, referred to by the Arjonas as a "nueva edición," is an edition of José Cadalso's *Cartas Marruecas y Poesías Selectas*, Boston, 1827.

Sales went deep into the world of scholarship

[41] See Wilfred A. Beardsley, "Ramsey's Spanish Grammar." *Hispania*, XXXV (1952), 435.

[42] The Spaulding revision of Ramsey's grammar has an interesting biography of this remarkable man. It mentions other books written by him: *The Island of Cuba* (with Lt. Andrew Rowan), 1896; *An Elementary Spanish Reader*, 1897; *Progressive Exercises in Spanish Prose Composition*, 1900; *Lo esencial del lenguaje castellano*, 1900.

with his *Selección de obras dramáticas de Calderón de la Barca, Lope de Vega y Moreto,* Boston, 1828. The plays included are *La Estrella de Sevilla,* Calderón's *El príncipe constante,* and Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén.* In a second edition in Boston, 1840, he omits *El desdén* and substitutes for it Calderón's *Mágico prodigioso.* Sales's first *Selección de obras dramáticas* was promptly reviewed in the *American Quarterly Review* by none other than George Ticknor.[43]

In 1828 José Antonio Pizarro published his *Select Original Dialogues, or Spanish and English Conversations, for the use of those who study the Spanish language.* There were other editions in 1836 and 1851. This text seems to be in a class by itself—neither a grammar nor a reader.

Longfellow also entered the field of Spanish readers, but strangely enough, did not select any bona fide Spanish author for presentation to the students of Bowdoin College, to whom his reader is dedicated. Rather, in this collection of *Novelas españolas* (Brunswick, Maine, 1830), he selected from George Washington Montgomery's *Tareas de un solitario* (Madrid, 1829) two stories that are adaptations of Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Young Italian." There was another edition in 1842, and another in 1845.

It is with some surprise that we find in Longfellow's *Novelas españolas* that Rip Van Winkle has been changed to Andrés Gazul (was he any relation to Clara?) who wanders into the mountains of Southern Spain and meets a venerable old man who takes him to "una comparsa de caballeros moriscos bizarramente vestidos." These newfound friends crown Andrés King of Granada, and he goes to sleep under the influence of opium. He wakes up to find everything changed. It is intriguing to see how quickly Montgomery's stories came to the United States and appeared in a reader for American students. They were published in Madrid in 1829, and appeared in English dress in Brunswick, Maine, in 1830.

One is tempted to speculate why Longfellow did not turn to a recognized Spanish author for his textbook. Can it have been that he was not familiar enough with Spanish letters at that time? Or were there not enough books in his or the Bowdoin College Library for him to make a proper selection? Perhaps it was simply a case of taking the easiest road. Montgomery had dedicated his *Tareas de un solitario* to Alexander H. Everett, American Minister to Spain, and had given him a copy. Everett had sent this copy to Longfellow. All Longfellow had to do was to use two of the eight stories, one of which, "El serrano de las Alpujarras," was Rip Van Winkle (Andrés Gazul) in a Spanish setting.[44]

For the next reader we again return to Francis Sales's *Literary Fables of don Tomás de Iriarte,* Boston, 1832. There was a third edition in 1843 and another in 1852. The short title does not indicate the full contents of this reader. In addition to the fables of Iriarte this book contain Moratín's *El sí de las niñas.* The 1852 edition also included fables by Félix María de Samaniego and a selection from the *Araucana.*

By mid-century the number of Spanish readers become too numerous to mention. They are listed and described in Arjona's bibliography. It is significant that no single text with the usual apparatus of notes and vocabulary appeared until the very end of the century. The first of these was an edition in 1893 of Juan Valera's *El pájaro verde, revised and annotated for the use of English students,* by Julio Rojas. After that came Alarcón's *El final de Norma,* edited by Rafael Diez de la Cortina in 1894; Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén,* edited by Alexander W. Herdler in 1895; Pérez Galdós' *Doña Perfecta,* edited by A. R. Marsh in 1897; Alarcón's *El Capitán Veneno,*[45] edited by J. D. M. Ford in 1899; and Cervantes' *El cautivo,* edited by Eduardo Tolrá y Fornes, also in 1899.

LATIN AMERICA

In the early days of the republic our knowledge of the neighbors to the south was on occasions vague and uncertain, but our interest was none the less genuine. The whole story can not be told here. A few indicators will have to suffice. O'Conway's *Rasgos históricos* (1809), which has been mentioned before, contained selections from the *Gazeta de México* and the *Correo de Lima.* In 1823 the Round Hill School included Spanish in its prospectus, with this explanation: "the great changes which are taking place in the southern parts of our continent give it at this time peculiar importance." In 1826 Longfellow's father had written him: "Such are the relations now existing between this country and South America that a knowledge of the Spanish is quite as important as the French."[46] Jared Sparks, as editor of *The North American Review,* had "subscribed to South American newspapers and learned Spanish in order to keep his readers in touch with Latin American affairs."[47]

In 1827 William Cullen Bryant translated (?) and published the Cuban poet José María Heredia's "Niagara"[48] and "The Hurricane," and toward the middle of the century the abolitionists were aroused by the execution (1844) of the Cuban mulatto poet, "Plácido." His moving "Plegaria a Dios" was translated several times. In 1850 Francisco J. Vingut published *A New Spanish Reader,* which included selections from the Cuban poets Heredia, Gertrudis, Gómez de Avellaneda and "Plácido." In 1855 Vingut and his wife Gertrude published *Joyas de la poesía española,* an interesting edition with Spanish and English on opposite pages, and including poems by the Cubans Heredia, Rafael María de Mendive, "Plácido," Miguel T. Tolón, and Felipe López de Briñas.

During the nineteenth century Appleton and Company published a good many Spanish books and had the following to say in their 1865 catalogue: "Los editores tienen el gusto de ofrecer . . . su nuevo Catálogo de libros de texto . . . con el objeto de promover entre los Estados Unidos y los países Hispano-Americanos aquellas relaciones de amistad y de comercio que todos los días se están haciendo más necessario [sic] e importantes."[49]

The visits of the Argentine statesman Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, in the middle of the century, made men like Ticknor and Longfellow aware that Spanish America possessed a literature, even though it was difficult for them to find out much about it. In 1868 Mrs. Horace Mann, wife of the famous Massachusetts educator, translated Sarmiento's *Facundo* into English under the exciting title, *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants.*[50] Her translation was prefaced by

[43] The article, "Early Spanish Drama," is unsigned. The author is identified in Ralph M. Aderman's "Contributors to the American Quarterly Review, 1827-1833," *Studies in Bibliography, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia,* XIV (1961), 168. Sales also published *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. . . . Nueva edición clásica, ilustrada con notas históricas, gramaticales y críticas,* Boston, 1836. 2 vols. "Esta edición . . . es la primera del Quijote en español, salida de las prensas norteamericanas." Leopoldo Rius, *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Cervantes,* I, 65. There was a second edition in 1837.

[44] See S. T. Williams, "The First Version of the Writings of Washington Irving in Spanish," *Modern Philology,* XXVIII (1930), 185–201. The *Tareas* and Longfellow's reader are described by I. L. Whitman in *Longfellow in Spain,* pp. 89–91. For the life of Montgomery, see *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[45] *El Capitán Veneno* proved to be a very popular text in the twentieth century. The Arjonas list eight editions.

[46] Samuel Longfellow, *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston, 1886), I, 102.

[47] See the article "Jared Sparks" in *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[48] E. C. Hills, "Did Bryant translate Heredia's 'Ode to Niagara'?" *Modern Language Notes,* XXIV (1919), 503–505.

[49] James Shearer, "Pioneer Publishers of Textbooks for Hispanic America," *Hispania,* XXVII (1944), 21–28.

[50] There is a recent edition of this translation in the Hafner Library of Classics, No. 21 (1960).

a life of Sarmiento which he himself had a chance to revise.

In 1890 Jorge Isaac's *María*, a Colombian novel that had attained tremendous popularity, was translated into English by Rollo Ogden. An introduction by Thomas A. Janvier pointed out that Spanish America had published books before the landing of the Pilgrims in Plymouth. *María* was destined to become one of the most popular texts for reading in Spanish. There was a school edition in 1918, edited by Hayward Keniston; another in 1922, edited by Stephen L. Pitcher; and still another in 1926, with notes, etc., by Jacob Warshaw.

In 1897 Ramsey's *Elementary Spanish Reader* included selections from Rafael María Baralt and Heredia, both Cubans, and the Venezuelan Heraclio M. de la Guardia. And at the very end of the century Ramsey wrote articles about Latin American literature (including that of Brazil) which were published in Warner's *Encyclopedia of the World's Best Literature* and in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopaedia*.

The summer of 1900 saw what was probably the most stupendous summer school of all time. In June of that year 1450 Cuban teachers embarked from fourteen Cuban harbors en route to Boston and Cambridge to attend a special session at Harvard University, arranged for them by President Eliot. One of those who supervised the instruction was J. D. M. Ford.[51]

But none of the above manifestations of interest, and not even the alerting of the United States by the War with Spain, seems to have directed the attention of the American public to any great degree toward the southern republics. As an example of a singular state of ignorance, we note that in 1902 an article in the *Literary World* of Boston estimates the population of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Mexico, and says: "It is no exaggeration to say that this mass of our fellow beings have no common literature worthy of the name." As a matter of fact, it took some time for a realization to come even among the universities in the United States that Spanish America did have a literature "worthy of the name," this in spite of efforts of scholars to convince them.

At the beginning of the century J. D. M. Ford in his *Spanish Anthology* (1901, another edition, 1917) published samples of Spanish literature from Berceo to modern times, and in this very inclusive publication we find poems of Heredia, "Plácido," Gómez de Avellaneda, and the Venezuelan Andrés Bello. In the same year one of the great Spanish teachers of the early nineteenth century, E. C. Hills, brought out *Bardos cubanos*. This text, in addition to the now standard authors, Heredia, "Plácido," and Avellaneda, included Rafael María Mendive, Joaquín Lorenzo Luaces, and Juan Clemente Zenea.[52]

The first courses in Spanish American literature were offered at the University of Arizona by Charles A. Turrell. In the catalogue for 1908-09 we find the following: "General Survey of the Literature of the Countries of Spanish America" and "History of Mexican Literature." Turrell contributed to the Spanish American textbook field with *Cuentos hispanoamericanos*, 1921.

In 1912 Alfred Coester, a student of J. D. M. Ford, then teaching in the Commercial High School in Brooklyn, began the first of his series of studies on Latin American literature with the publication of "A Bibliography of Spanish American Literature." Two years later Isaac Goldberg, another Ford student, began writing articles on Latin American literature for the *Boston Transcript*, many of which were later published in book form as *Studies in Spanish-American Literature* (New York, 1920).[53]

In 1915 E. C. Hills, then of Colorado College, delivered a series of lectures, "Some Spanish American Poets" (O. V. Andrade, A. Bello, R. Darío, J. M. Heredia, J. J. de Olmedo, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz) at Harvard, Wisconsin, California, and Colorado College.[54] In that same year a Master's thesis on Spanish American folklore was presented at the University of Washington (R. Z. Gottlieb, "Puerto Rican Folklore") and in 1918 one on Spanish American literature at Columbia (C. S. Barbarrosa, "La poesía hispanoamericana de nuestros tiempos.") The first Doctor's thesis came somewhat later: H. A. Holmes's *Martin Fierro, An Epic of the Argentine*, Columbia, 1923.[55]

Alfred Coester's *Literary History of Spanish America*, published in 1916, created a newer and greater interest in Latin America than had ever been felt before.[56] In May 1917 Frederick Bliss Luquiens of Yale University, in an article, "The Teaching of Spanish from the Latin American Point of View," referred to the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, held in 1916, which recommended that Spanish be taught from the point of view of America, life, literature, history, and social institutions. This did not mean, Luquiens said, Spanish American pronunciation or commercial Spanish. In 1919 J. D. M. Ford, who had had a very informative article on Spanish American literature in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as early as 1912, included a chapter, "High Points of Spanish American Literature," in his *Main Currents of Spanish Literature*.

In 1919-20 I visited South America on a Sheldon Fellowship from Harvard and brought back material for Argentine, Chilean, Peruvian, and Uruguayan bibliographies. These bibliographies were published in widely scattered places and perhaps were therefore more effective in transmitting information.

In 1925 G. W. Umphrey of the University of Washington discussed in the *Modern Language Journal* "Spanish American Literature as a Field of Research for Graduate Students."

The American Council of Learned Societies recognized the importance of Latin America as early as 1933, when it appointed a Provisional Committee on Latin American Studies to survey the field and consider what needed to be done. The Committee (A. V. Kidder of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, C. H. Haring of Harvard, chairman, and I) soon met and took appropriate action.[57] One of its first acts was to provide for "travel grants to assist graduate students of demonstrated aptitude to carry on their study and research in Latin American countries."

Among other activities, two significant books were published under the auspices of the Committee: Carlos E. Castañeda and Jack Autrey Dabbs, *Guide to the Latin American Materials in the University of Texas Library* (Cambridge, 1939); and Madaline W. Nichols, *A Bibliographi-*

[51] In 1950 Cuba repaid this gesture of good will by inviting a teacher from every state in the Union to attend the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Cuba's public school system. Each state chose a teacher to represent it, as did Hawaii, Alaska, and the Canal Zone. In addition, a number of teacher's organiations were represented, among them the National Education Association and the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. See my "Student Exchange: A Key to Better Understanding," in Angel del Río, ed., *Responsible Freedom in the Americas* (Garden City, N.Y., 1955), p. 172.

[53] See my "Latin American Literature in the United States," *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, XI (1931), 126–148, and *Hispano-American Literature in the United States, A Bibliography of Translations and Criticism*, Cambridge, 1932.

[52] *La literatura hispano-americana. Estudios críticos.* Versión castellana de R. Cansinos Assens. Prólogo de E. Diez-Canedo. Madrid, 1922.

[54] E. C. Hills, "Some Spanish American Poets," *Colorado College Publications, Language Series*, II (1915), 221–237.

[55] Leavitt, "A Bibliography of Theses Dealing with Hispano-American Literature," *Hispania*, XVIII (1935), 169–182. Continued in later volumes of *Hispania*.

[56] Second edition, New York, 1925. *Historia literaria de la América Española*, traducción de Rómulo Tovar, Madrid, 1929.

[57] "Report of Activities, 1933," ACLS Bulletin No. 22 (Oct. 1934), pp. 78–81.

cal Guide to Materials on American Spanish (Cambridge, 1941).

The most important contribution in the Latin American field by the American Council of Learned Societies was the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. In the preface to the first volume (Cambridge, 1936), C. H. Haring explained in greater detail than is possible here the cooperative efforts that resulted in the publication of the volume, the full title of which is: *Handbook of Latin American Studies. A guide to the material published in 1935 on anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, and literature.* It was edited by Lewis Hanke, then Instructor in History at Harvard. Those in charge of the literary sections were: for the Colonial Period, Irving A. Leonard; for the National Period, Sturgis E. Leavitt; for Brazil, Samuel Putnam. In the following year Francisco Aguilera, then of the Pan American Union, relieved me of a great burden by taking over the poetry part of the section on literature. The *Handbook* has had its ups and downs, with changes of editors and changes in place of publication. It has also had its financial difficulties and its delays. But heroic efforts have succeeded in bringing the publication up to date.

Margaret Kiser, in an interesting article, "What the Pan American Union is doing to further the study of the Spanish language, and of Spanish American literature and culture (*Hispania*, XXX [1947], 50-56), pointed out that as far back as 1906 the Conference of American States passed a resolution directing the staff of the Union to assemble and supply information on educational matters. In 1928 the enlarged and reorganized Section of Education became the Division of Intellectual Cooperation and broadened its work to include the arts, literature, and science.

Since then, many useful studies and reports dealing with Latin America and Latin American studies have been issued by the Pan American Union. They are too numerous to mention, but two deserve especial notice. One is *Courses on Latin American in Institutions of Higher Education in the United States, 1948-1949* (Washington, 1949). The introduction by Jorge Basadre, then Director of Cultural Affairs in the Union, though giving most space to history, has a great deal of information on the teaching of Latin American literature in the colleges and universities in the United States. In 1930, for example, the Pan American Union announced that 209 colleges and universities were offering courses in the Latin American field. In 1951 the Union began the publication of the *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía*, which carries original articles, book reviews, and an elaborate section on bibliography. This publication is indispensable to anyone who wishes to keep abreast of more than one field.

A significant step forward was the organization in 1929 of the Harvard Council on Hispano-American Studies, thanks to a grant from the General Education Board through the fund for the humanities at Harvard University. J. D. M. Ford was the Director of the Council. The other members were Alfred Coester, Henry Grattan Doyle, Sturgis E. Leavitt, Guillermo Rivera, Arturo Torres-Rioseco, Samuel M. Waxman, and Arthur F. Whittem.

The Council proposed to compile a series of bibliographies, as nearly exhaustive as possible, of the belles-lettres of all the countries of Hispano-America. Unfortunately, it was not possible to carry out investigations in the libraries of the countries under consideration, and as a result, most of the bibliographies were considered "tentative." Due to various circumstances, they are uneven in quality. The entire series was complete in 1935. Two of the volumes were supplementary: my *Hispano-American Literature in the United States, A Bibliography of translations and criticism* (1932), and a study of Rubén Darío (1931) by Arturo Torres-Rioseco.

The first activity of an official governmental nature relating to cultural relations between the Americas was the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations which was approved at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held in Buenos Aires in 1936, and ratified by the United States Senate in June of the following year. Immediately following the ratification, a Departmental Order of 27 July 1938 created the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State. Although the objectives of this division had vast international scope, they were, in reality, largely concentrated on Latin America: "The Division will have general charge of official international activities . . . with respect to cultural relations, embracing the exchange of professors, teachers, and students; cooperation in the field of music, art, literature, and other intellectual and cultural attainments; the foundation and distribution of libraries of representative works of the United States and suitable translations thereof."

In order to carry out its program, the Division secured the cooperation of universities and organizations, such as the Carnegie Corporation, the Guggenheim and Rockefeller Foundations, as well as other agencies and private groups and individuals.

Under the Buenos Aires Convention, as it is now called, a provision for the exchange of students afforded an opportunity for research in Latin America such as had hardly been dreamed of before. Not all the Latin American countries were signatories to the Convention, but the most important countries were. Under the convention many graduate students were privileged to study in Latin America, and on their return to the United States, to impart to their students first-hand information of great value. For many years the selection of all exchange students was conducted by the U.S. Office of Education. Of late, it has been under the auspices of the Institute of International Education.

In the summer of 1938, on the invitation of the Mexican government a group of teachers of Spanish American literature assembled in Mexico City. Invitations had been sent out to all the Latin American countries, but official delegations came from only two—Cuba and the United States. The delegates from the United States were José Balseiro, then of the University of Illinois, and I.

At this "Congreso" an association was formed with a rather formidable name, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana. It sponsored the publication of the *Revista Iberoamericana* (Vol. I, 1939), which was to be different from the scholarly magazines of the United States with their critical apparatus and abundant footnotes. The *Revista Iberoamericana* was to publish interpretive articles and seek contributors not only from the United States but from Latin America. Articles could be written in either Spanish or Portuguese. This ambitious undertaking, supported entirely by membership dues, has continued up to this day. Its sustained existence is a minor miracle.

The master mind behind the Congreso in Mexico was Manuel Pedro González of the University of California at Los Angeles. It was therefore entirely fitting that he should be elected President of the Instituto, and that at his invitation the second meeting was held in Los Angeles in 1940, with a large attendance, principally from colleges and universities in the United States. Other "Congresos" have been held at New Orleans (1942), Havana (1949), Albuquerque (1951), Mexico (1953), Berkeley (1955), Puerto Rico (1957) and New York and New Brunswick (1959).

The articles published in the *Revista Iberoamericana* are for the most part interpretive, but there have been a number of bibliographies pub-

lished in the magazine, the most notable of which have been John E. Englekirk's "Obras norteamericanas en traducción española," "Bibliografía de obras norteamericanas em traducão portuguesa," and "Bibliografía de la novela colombiana," by Englekirk and Gerald E. Wade.[58]

The Instituto has also published an *Outline History of Spanish American Literature*, New York, 1941 (second edition, 1946); *An Anthology of Spanish American Literature* (New York, 1946, committee in charge: Irving A. Leonard, John T. Reid, John A. Crow, John E. Englekirk, and E. Herman Hespelt, chairman); and a series of "Clásicos de América," which includes works of Manuel González Prada, José Asunción Silva, Horacio Quiroga, Ricardo Palma, and J. J. Fernández de Lizardi.

An extremely valuable article giving in great detail the bibliographical situation up to 1942 was contributed in that year to *Hispania* by E. Herman Hespelt.[59]

Since 1916 school texts of Spanish American literature have been characterized by their abundance. The most recent, and the most impressive, is the anthology *Literatura Hispanoamericana* (New York, 1960), by Enrique Anderson Imbert of the University of Michigan and Eugenio Florit of Barnard College. The history of Spanish American literature has been amply provided for. There have been three notable contributions to this field: Arturo Torres-Rioseco's *The Epic of Latin American Literature* (1942), Pedro Henríquez Ureña's *Literary Currents in Hispanic America* (1946), and Enrique Anderson Imbert's *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana* (1954, second edition, 1957, third edition, 1961, 2 vols.).

The appearance of my *Revistas Hispanoamericanas, Indice Bibliográfico, 1843-1935* (An Index to the Literary, Linguistic and Folklore Materials in Fifty Spanish American Magazines), published in 1960 by the Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina in Chile, should not pass unnoticed.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that Spanish American studies are now firmly entrenched in the colleges and universities of the United States.

ASSOCIATIONS

A part of the story of the participation of Spanish teachers in what is so characteristic of this country—organizations—has been told in the preceding section on Latin America. We now come to a less restricted series of activities that have their modest beginning in the nineteenth century and their flowering in the twentieth.

At the first meeting of the group that formed the Modern Language Association of America at Columbia in 1883,[60] no identifiable Hispanist was present, although some of those who were there may have taught Spanish. Furthermore, in a discussion of the place of modern foreign languages in the colleges, Spanish, it seems, was not mentioned.

As a matter of fact, Spanish is barely visible in the early years of this very important organization. For example, in the first volume of *PMLA* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*), which began to appear in 1884, there is an article, "The Aims and Methods of Collegiate Instruction in Modern Languages," by W. T. Hewett of Cornell, but no reference is made in it to Spanish. However, in this volume is an article, "The Collective Singular in Spanish," by Henry R. Lang, then teacher of modern languages in the Swain Free School in New Bedford, Mass. He had another article in Volume III, "The Face in the Spanish Metaphore."

At the Fourth Annual Meeting, held in Baltimore in 1886, James Russell Lowell was made President, but it is doubtful if many people associated this famous American writer with the teaching of Spanish. President Lowell was absent from the next meeting, held in Philadelphia, and so was Vice President W. T. Hewett. The response to the address of welcome by William Pepper, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was given by another Vice President, James M. Garrett of the University of Virginia. None of these men had anything to do with Spanish.

The address of James Russell Lowell in behalf of modern foreign languages was delivered at the seventh annual meeting held at Harvard in 1889. He was still President of the MLA, and he continued in that office until 1891. No one since has ever served so long. After 1893 it has been customary for presidents to serve only one year.

Among the presidents of the MLA there have been notable figures in Spanish instruction. The first on the list is Charles Carroll Marden (1932), who died while holding this office, and whose place was taken by Milton A. Buchanan. Then comes Rudolph Schevill (1942-43), S. G. Morley (1950), and Hayward Keniston (1953). I am the only Spanish teacher to have served (1942-50) as a delegate of the MLA to the American Council of Learned Societies. For some reason or other, the number of Spanish articles contributed to *PMLA* has not been impressive.[61]

A highly useful publication, *Modern Language Notes*, was initiated at Johns Hopkins in 1886, with A. Marshall Elliott as Managing Editor. In the first volume there are three contributions on Spanish subjects, two of which are by Henry R. Lang, who was to join the Yale staff in 1892. One of his articles is entitled "Contribution to Spanish Grammar" and the other is a review of General Alejandro Ybarra's *A Practical Method of Learning Spanish* (Boston and New York, 1885). The third article, a review of W. I. Knapp's *Modern Spanish Readings* (Boston 1883) by H. A. Todd,[62] is entitled "Knapp's Spanish Etymologies."

Two committee reports appear in all the accounts of modern language teaching in the United States. The first is the report of the Committee of Ten,[63] appointed in 1892 by the National Education Association. This report had to do principally with modern languages in the elementary schools. The other report is that of the Committee of Twelve,[64] appointed in 1896 by the MLA to consider modern language studies in the secondary schools. Neither of these reports has anything to do with Spanish, then considered a minor language and not a regular part of the requirements for admission to college. The only connection that these reports had with Spanish is their recommendation of the reading method. The report of the Committee of Twelve was long considered authoritative for all foreign languages and not open to question.

The founding of the Hispanic Society of America[65] by Archer M. Huntington was an event that has not been sufficiently heralded, due to the modesty of its founder. This society has been a constant stimulus to Spanish studies in the United

[58] *Revista Iberoamericana*, VIII (1944), 379–450, IX (1945), 125–166, XIV (1948), 307–391, XV (1949), 149–190, 309–411.

[59] "Progress in Providing the Bibliographical Background for Spanish American Studies," *Hispania*, XXV (1942), 272–283.

[60] Charles H. Handschin, "The Founding of the Modern Language Association," in Maxim Newmark, *Twentieth Century Modern Language Teaching*. William Riley Parker, "The MLA, 1883–1953," *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), No. 4, Pt. 2, 3–39. George Winchester Stone, Jr., "The Beginning, Development and Impact of the MLA as a Learned Society, 1883–1958," *PMLA*, LXIII (1958), No. 5, Pt. 2, 23–44.

[61] In a recent statistical survey by Richard F. Bauerle, *PMLA*, LXXIII (1958), 72–78, in 1884–1908, 3.4% of the articles dealt with Spanish subjects, in 1909–33, 2.8%, and in 1934–58, 3.6%.

[62] Henry Alfred Todd (1854–1925) received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1885.

[63] Published in 1893 by the U. S. Office of Education.

[64] Calvin Thomas and others, "History of the Report of the Committee of Twelve," in Newmark, *Twentieth Century Modern Language Teaching*.

[65] See *History of the Hispanic Society of America, Museum and Library, 1904–1954*, New York, 1954. Henry Grattan Doyle, "Archer Milton Huntington, 1870–1955," *MLJ*, XL (1956), 59–61.

States and abroad. Its collection of Spanish art is extraordinary. Its library of Spanish books is notable for its rare editions (E. C. Hills was librarian from 1916 to 1918), its publications have been priceless items, and the contributions to scholarship of Mr. Huntington himself have been significant. Not the least of his benefactions was the establishment and endowment of the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress.

The Hispanic Foundation was opened in July 1939. An endowment provides for the purchase, within ten years of publication, of books relating to Spain, Portugal, and South America and dealing with arts, crafts, literature, and history. David Rubio was the first to be in charge of this collection and its quarters. He was followed by Lewis Hanke, assisted by Robert C. Smith. When Hanke resigned to take a position at the University of Texas, Howard Cline became Director and Francisco Aguilera his assistant.

The beginnings of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese are quaintly described by Lawrence A. Wilkins, Inspector of Modern Languages in the City of New York, in the first number of its official quarterly journal, *Hispania*. In his article, "On the Threshold," he says: "On Friday evening of Thanksgiving Week, 1915, at the call of the writer, there gathered in a small dining room in a hotel in New York City, a group of men bent on establishing an association of teachers of Spanish." This seemingly auspicious beginning came to naught, but in October 1916 another meeting was held, followed by others, and in the following year the association was definitely launched. The names of the first officers are well known in the history of teaching of Spanish. They are Lawrence A. Wilkins, President; Rudolph Schevill, University of California, First Vice President; Ventura Fuentes, College of the City of New York, Second Vice President; Charles P. Wagner, University of Michigan, Third Vice President; and Alfred Coester, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, Secretary-Treasurer. The Editor of *Hispania* was Aurelio M. Espinosa of Stanford and the Consulting Editors were John D. Fitz-Gerald and J. D. M. Ford. The Association elected two honorary presidents, Archer M. Huntington of New York and Juan C. Cebrián of San Francisco.

On 21 May 1917 a circular was sent out to 2850 teachers of Spanish, explaining what the new association was. Some 600 applied for membership. The regular meeting was held on 29 December 1917, following the annual meeting of the MLA. This connection with the larger association eventually gave rise to a certain amount of dissatisfaction when it was felt by some that the Spanish group should be independent. In spite of the fact that December 29 of that year was "one of the coldest and stormiest ever known in New York City," some 130 members attended the meeting. It was an auspicious start. Federico de Onís of Columbia gave the principal address, "La literatura contemporánea en la enseñanza del castellano."

On 21 May 1917, very appropriately in the first volume of *Hispania*, Coester's *Literary History of Spanish America* was reviewed by G. W. Umphrey of the University of Washington. Umphrey later contributed a number of articles on Spanish American literature. In the first volume there was a review of *España Pintoresca*, a popular textbook by Marcial Dorado.

The American Association of Teachers of Spanish grew and prospered. And so did *Hispania*. Aurelio Espinosa continued as Editor until 1926, when he was succeeded by Alfred Coester (1927-41). After him came Henry Grattan Doyle (1942-48), Donald Walsh (1949-57), and the present Editor, Robert G. Mead, Jr., of the University of Connecticut.

At the meeting of the MLA held in Cleveland in 1915 steps were taken by representatives of different regional language associations to form a national federation. This organization decided to adopt the rather formidable name, National Federation of Modern Language Teachers (later changed by adding the word "Associations"). A more important decision was to found a publication to be called the *Modern Language Journal*.[66]

This journal was launched in October 1916, and J. P. W. Crawford of the University of Pennsylvania was one of its five editors. During its first year there were a few reviews of Spanish textbooks, and one article on a Spanish subject, "The Teaching of Spanish from the Latin American Point of View," by F. B. Luquiens of Yale.

John D. Fitz-Gerald of the University of Illinois was largely responsible for the admission of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish to the Federation. He was chosen as its first delegate and he was President of the Federation in 1925-26. Other presidents from the Spanish Association have been J. P. W. Crawford (1921-22), Wilfred A. Beardsley (1928-29), Stephen L. Pitcher (1938-39), and Julio del Toro (1946-48). Henry Grattan Doyle of George Washington University was Business Manager from 1930 to 1934, Managing Editor of the *Journal* from 1934 to 1938, and Secretary of the Federation from 1946 on. Julio del Toro was Managing Editor of the *Journal* from 1947 to 1955.

An extremely important date in the history of the teaching of Spanish in the United States was the establishment of the Middlebury Spanish School in 1917. This college had previously conducted two summer language schools, one in German in 1915, and one in French the following year.

The most impressive feature of the Middlebury School, and one that brought it immediately into prominence, was its insistence upon the spoken language. We read, for example, in its recent catalogue—and the regulations were the same in 1917, though differently phrased—"During the entire session, the foreign language is the sole medium of communication in work and play. From the day of arrival students are pledged to speak the foreign language." The 1917 prospectus says: "The Middlebury method . . . is direct, intensive and continuous."

The instructors in the Middlebury School are, and have been, natives of Spanish-speaking countries. The first Director was Julián Moreno Lacalle, then of the Department of Modern Languages of the United States Naval Academy. He was assisted by José Martel, also of the Naval Academy. Subsequent directors have been Samuel Gili Gaya, Carlos Concha, and Juan Centeno. The present director is Francisco García Lorca, brother of the famous Spanish poet.

Another highly significant landmark in the promotion of Spanish was the founding of the Instituto de las Españas at Columbia in 1920 by the Institute of International Education, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios in Spain, and several Spanish and American universities. Its aim was to be a center for the study of Hispanic culture, to promote interest in the Spanish and Portuguese civilizations, and to foster cultural relations between the United States and all Hispanic nations. Its first director was Federico de Onís, and its present director is Angel del Río, who succeeded Professor de Onís 1 February 1954.

In 1940 the name of the Instituto was changed to Casa Hispánica, which is also the name of the building housing the headquarters for the Institute. The Casa sponsors cultural gatherings, eminent speakers, and discussion groups. The Instituto has published a wealth of doctoral theses on Spanish subjects accepted by Columbia University, and a considerable number of other studies in the field of Spanish. It maintains a library and has an impressive card file of Latin American bibliography.

[66] Charles H. Handschin, "History of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers," in Maxim Newmark, *Twentieth Century Modern Language Teaching*. William R. Parker, "The Critical Years: The *Modern Language Journal* 1916–30," *PMLA*, LXXI (1956), No. 4, Pt. 2, 3–20.

Among the early activities of the Instituto de las Españas was the *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, published in cooperation with the Departmento de Estudios Hispánicos of the University of Puerto Rico. The magazine, edited by Federico de Onís, deserved a longer life than the six numbers that appeared during its brief period of existence, 1928-29. This magazine contained excellent articles, book reviews, and a section on bibliography. The section on bibliography excluded everything relating to Spain except when it had some connection with Spanish America.

This publication was revived in 1934 under the name of *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, with Federico de Onís as Director. It was a satisfaction to everyone interested in Latin America to see that a section on "Bibliografía Hispanoamericana" was a part of the new publication.

The founding of the *Hispanic Review* in January 1933, with J. P. W. Crawford as chief promoter and first editor, was a boon to Spanish scholars after the demise of the highly respected *Revue Hispanique* in 1933. Archer M. Huntington had subsidized the *Revue Hispanique*, which had been published in Paris, but he was not interested in a continuation in this country. As a consequence, the *Hispanic Review* has had to depend for support upon its subscribers (none too many, we suspect) and the University of Pennsylvania, where it is published. The present editors are Otis H. Green and Arnold G. Reichenberger.

In 1941 a rather unusual summer school was held at the University of North Carolina under my direction, with 108 students present from South America. This school attracted considerable attention in the newspapers because it was a summer school held in the winter months of January, February, and March. It was, of course, summer in the countries from which the students came. An effort to continue the school in 1942 was not so successful on account of war conditions. Only eleven students were in attendance. I still feel that the idea is a good one, especially because it gives students from South America an opportunity to see a North American university in one of its regular sessions.[67]

On 31 December 1923 a group of teachers who felt that the Report of the Committee of Twelve was out of date met in Atlantic City to see what could be done about it. In the following year the Modern Foreign Language Study was organized for the purpose of making a general inquiry into the teaching and learning of modern foreign languages in the United States. This study received support from the Carnegie Corporation.

A formidable list of seventeen publications resulted from this investigation, among them two that dealt exclusively with Spanish: Milton A. Buchanan's *Graded Spanish Word Book* (Toronto, 1927) and Hayward Keniston's *Spanish Idiom List* (New York, 1929).

The most discussed volume of the Modern Language Study was Number 12 of the series, *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages in the United States*, by Algernon Coleman of the University of Chicago. This became known as the "Coleman Report." Its most important recommendation was a reading objective—extensive reading. This report aroused considerable controversy. Two of the most vocal of the objectors were W. R. Price, State Supervisor of Modern Foreign Languages of the University of the State of New York, and B. Q. Morgan, then Professor of German at the University of Wisconsin. The Spanish teachers, if they felt that anything was wrong, remained aloof, for the most part, from the discussion.

The reading objective in the teaching of modern foreign languages received a severe setback in 1943 with the operations of the Army Specialized Training Program, or the ASTP, as it was commonly called. This program, in which Mortimer Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies was the master mind, called for intensive training in a multiplicity of languages, many of which had hardly been heard of, much less spoken, in the United States. The most important feature of this program was concentration on the spoken language, with constant drill, drill, drill.

This program began operations in April 1943 and ended abruptly in April 1944, but the so-called "Army Method" had a tremendous impact on modern-foreign-language teaching. For once, the public became very much concerned about modern foreign languages and was convinced that students should learn to *speak* foreign languages, not just read them.

Spanish came into the ASTP program in a number of colleges, and those who participated in the program will never forget the experience. The students (soldiers) were always present, they had an incentive, they had few distractions, and they had plenty of time to devote to the language. These conditions could, of course, never be reproduced in the regular course of study in the colleges and universities, but few of the non-academic advocates of this method realized it. They could not understand why every educational institution in the country could not adopt the Army Method.[68]

In 1952 the MLA entered the modern-foreign-language field to an extent never dreamed of before. The story of the Foreign Language Program of the Association has been told in *PMLA* and in numerous brochures distributed from its New York office. Spanish teachers have played no small part in the functioning of this extremely ambitious undertaking, which was supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, and which eventually interlocked with the National Defense Education Act signed by President Eisenhower in 1958.[69]

The most distinctive contribution of the Spanish teachers to this language program has been a cooperative grammar. Heretofore, modern language teachers had seen only competition among writers of grammars, except for occasional dual authorship like Hills and Ford. There was too much competition, thought every teacher who had written a grammar. But this effort of the MLA was different, and it established a record that will probably endure for all time.

After a series of conferences, in which many textbook writers took part, a committee of six sat down to do their work. They were Dwight L. Bolinger (Coordinator), then of the University of Southern California, J. Donald Bowen of the University of California at Los Angeles, Agnes M. Brady of the University of Kansas, Ernest F. Haden of the University of Texas, Lawrence Poston, Jr., of the University of Oklahoma, and Norman Sacks of Oberlin College. Among them was a structural linguist, to see that the final product was in the "New Key." This committee was, or had been, assisted by twenty-four advisers and several native consultants. And this was not all. The members of the committee, working at the University of Texas for a full semester with no other duties, showed that cooperative endeavor can work even in the composition of such a controversial document as a Spanish grammar.[70]

The result has been *Modern Spanish* (xiv, 496 pp.), published in 1960 by Harcourt Brace. Each copy of the grammar has in its pocket a record

[67] See my "A Continued Experiment in Inter-Americanism," *Hispania*, XXV (1942), 199–200.

[68] Long before the ASTP had ever been heard of, Frederick Bliss Luquiens, who taught at Yale University from 1906 to 1940, had developed an interesting system of teaching Spanish. Said Luquiens: "Teachers of modern languages should teach *talking* first, last, and always." This statement is taken from the *Irreducible Minimum of Spanish Grammar*, New Haven, 1926. The *Irreducible Minimum* was the foundation of Luquiens' system. Students were required to memorize it word for word. With this to start with, they were drilled mercilessly in the Spanish language. It worked. See Jorge A. Buendía, "Methods of Teaching Spanish at Yale University." *Hispania*, XVII (1944), 178–208.

[69] Relevant sections of this act were published in *PMLA*, LXXIII (1958), iv–viii.

[70] Norman P. Sacks, "The MLA College Manual Project: The Spanish Textbook," *Hispania*, XLI (1958), 77–83.

for preliminary pronunciation drill. This record covers every sound that is explained in the early pages of the book. The publishers are marketing a set of records for the dialogues that are given at the beginning of each lesson. For the teacher there is an Instructor's Manual of thirty-two pages. For the language lab there are forty-five tapes which present not only the dialogues, but also recordings of all the oral drill patterns in the grammar. The Department of Cinema of the University of Southern California, under a government grant, has been developing films based upon the dialogues. This is indeed a remarkable "package."

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

The teaching of Spanish in the elementary schools in the nineteenth century seems to have been confined to the state of New Mexico, which, of course, is not typical of the rest of the country.

In the secondary schools little Spanish was taught in the nineteenth century. We have seen that the curriculum of the Round Hill School in Massachusetts, founded in 1823, included Spanish. Spell says that Spanish was taught in the Central High School in New Orleans in 1829. Spanish, he says, continued to be included in the public schools of New Orleans until the Civil War. Bagster-Collins has some scattered figures which give the story in part. He says, for example, that Spanish was taught in the Salem, Mass., High School as early as 1830. By 1860 Spanish was taught in four schools in Massachusetts. As late as 1906-11, in the high schools of the Middle West, out of forty schools reporting, Spanish was taught in three.

In tables presented by Bagster-Collins showing the percentages of numbers of pupils in the high schools in 1910 in the various modern foreign languages, out of a total enrollment in the high schools (both public and private) in the country, Spanish rated only .65% as against 11.40% for French and 23.60% for German. In 1915 the rate for Spanish increased to 2.72% (35,148 students), while French went to 11.70% (136,131 students) and German to 24.19% (312,358 students).

The First World War made itself felt on this enrollment and its effect was startling. The study of German dropped off rapidly, and French and Spanish increased; French to a slight extent, and Spanish beyond all expectations. A great incentive to the enrollment in Spanish was the prospect of increased trade with Latin America. "Commercial Spanish" became a magic word that was supposed to open the way to new careers. Between 1915 and 1922 it is estimated that German dropped from an enrollment of approximately 325,000 to less than 14,000, and that in the same period French increased from approximately 117,000 to 345,000, and Spanish from approximately 36,000 to 252,000.

A curious situation in 1947 is reported by Donald Walsh. In that year he made a survey of the teaching of Spanish in the independent schools of New England and found that in three fifths of the schools Spanish was a "poor cousin," because it was believed that many colleges and universities were reluctant to accept Spanish as fulfillment of an entrance requirement. As a consequence, many teachers discouraged the study of Spanish.[71]

In this instance the teachers in the independent schools were behind the times, for another survey, also by Donald Walsh, reported in the same volume of *Hispania*, shows that as a general rule there was no discrimination against Spanish when offered for admission to colleges and universities. Furthermore, there was little discrimination at the level of the B.A. and M.A. degrees, although "the Ph.D. requirement needs revision and colleges need to give more place to Spanish and Portuguese."

In 1959-60 a questionnaire, sent out by the MLA, with about 75% returns, showed that there were in the high schools of this country approximately 11,300 teachers of French, 11,000 teachers of Spanish, and 2,600 teachers of German.

The position of Spanish among the other modern foreign languages in the colleges and universities in the 1880's does not seem to have been very prominent. In the first five volumes of *PMLA* there are only two scholarly papers and both by the same man. To be sure, the President of the MLA in 1886 was James Russell Lowell, but his interests were so wide that he could hardly have been considered a Spanish scholar.

We find further evidence of the lack of prominence of Spanish in 1886, at least, when we examine in *PMLA* a list of 354 colleges and universities and their modern-language teachers. One cannot draw final conclusions about the teaching of Spanish from this compilation, because in it a good many professors are listed merely as "Teachers of Modern Languages." Even so, the omission of any reference to Spanish in so many states gives some clue to its lack of importance in those days. There is no mention of Spanish, for example, in the listings of the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Dakota, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, and Virginia. In some places where Spanish was taught, there were some queer combinations. For example, at Granbury College in Texas, the Rev. W. J. Moore was "Professor of English, Mental and Moral Science, and Spanish." The two states with the highest number of teachers of Spanish were Tennessee (East Tennessee, Wesleyan University, Maryville College, Southwestern Presbyterian, University of the South, and Vanderbilt), and Texas (Agriculture and Mechanical College, Baylor, Granbury College, Salado College, Southwestern University, University of Texas, and Waco Female College).

The above is in considerable contrast to the present situation, which can be briefly stated in general terms. In 1959-60 the MLA found that there were in the colleges and universities of the United States 3567 teachers of French, 2806 teachers of Spanish, and 2364 teachers of German.

The present high standing of Spanish is due to a number of factors, among them the collapse of German during the first World War, the alleged advantages of commercial relations with Latin America, the Good Neighbor Policy, the recognition that there was a literature in Spanish America, and a more general appreciation of the literature of Spain. But there is one underlying factor that must not be overlooked; and that is, the many inspiring teachers who have entered the field since the early years of the century. These men, through their classroom teaching, their own research, and their publications, have been instrumental in recruiting scholars to continue in the paths they opened up for any, or all, to follow.

Some of these men have been referred to in the earlier pages of this study, most of them, as a matter of fact. The list would be long, if they were all mentioned, but we cannot omit here the name of Rennert, with his studies of the Spanish stage and Lope de Vega; Marden, with his Old Spanish texts; Hills and Ford of the Spanish grammar, and Ford with his *Old Spanish Readings* and other scholarly publications; Fitz-Gerald, with his study of Berceo and Santo Domingo de Silos; Espinosa, with his studies in folklore and his association with *Hispania;* Coester, also Editor of *Hispania* and an early advocate of Latin American studies; Luquiens, with his Yale collection of Spanish American literature; Crawford and early Spanish drama; and Schevill and editions of the works of Cervantes.

Then there are others whom we have seen in action at the meetings of the Modern Language

[71] Donald D. Walsh, "A Survey of the Teaching of Spanish in the Independent Schools of New England," *Hispania*, XXX (1947), 89–90; "The Status of Spanish and Portuguese in American Colleges and Universities," *Hispania*, XXX (1947), 346 ff.

Association. Among them are Claude Anibal, inspired critic of Golden Age drama, H. C. Berkowitz and his studies of Galdós, Otis Green and the *Hispanic Review*, Harry C. Heaton and his studies of Calderón, Hayward Keniston, Boscán and Spanish syntax, E. K. Mapes, Rubén Darío and Gutiérrez Nájera, S. G. Morley, Spanish ballads and Golden Age versifications, George Tyler Northup and his history of Spanish literature, F. Courtney Tarr and Larra, Edwin Place and Amadís de Gaula, Arturo Torres-Rioseco, Rubén Darío and histories of Latin American literature, and Charles Wagner and *El Caballero Cifar*.

There are those who have joined our ranks from foreign lands: Amado Alonso, Américo Castro, Raimundo Lida, M. Romera Navarro, Federico de Onís, Homero Serís, and Tomás Navarro Tomás. These men have brought in fresh points of view that have enriched the offerings of our universities and contributed greatly to scholarship.

And this is not all. Spanish scholarship, especially studies in the Golden Age, has had notable contributions from women: Alice Boushee, Caroline Bourland, Ada M. Coe, and Ruth Lee Kennedy.

There are two men whose contributions deserve special recognition, men whose names immediately come to mind when mention is made of Spanish instruction, Spanish meetings, or Spanish organizations. These men, Donald Walsh and Henry Grattan Doyle, have been constantly on the scene when anything important was going on. Their contributions to the welfare of Spanish add up to a total that is truly impressive.

The younger generation is carrying on with industry, zeal, and intelligence. Their names are legion, and the men give promise of great achievement. The future of Spanish is safe in their hands.